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CHRISTIANITY VERSUS SLAVERY,

OR,

A REPORT,

PUBLISHED IN THE "GLASGOW ARGUS" NEWSPAPER, NOVEMBER 8, 1841,

OF A

LECTURE, DELIVERED AT AN ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING

IN THAT CITY,

BY

GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.;

AN EXTRACT FROM A PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED, "PROCEEDINGS AT THE FIRST PUBLIC MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND COLONIZATION OF AFRICA, HELD AT EXETER-HALL,

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, PRINCE ALBERT,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY, IN THE CHAIR,

JUNE 1, 1840;"

THREE PAPAL BRIEFS OF

URBAN VIII, BENEDICT XIV,

AND OF HIS PRESENT HOLINESS,

GREGORY XVI,

DECEMBER 3, 1839,

NOT ALLUDED TO IN THE ABOVE MEETING,

AND NOW PRESENTED, WITH PREFATORY REMARKS, TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND,

BY

HUGH CHARLES, LORD CLIFFORD.

DUBLIN,

PRINTED BY W. POWELL, 68, THOMAS-STREET,

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TO THE

CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

FELLOW-CHRISTIANS AND COUNTRYMEN,

ON the Feast of the Apostle of the East Indies, on the return of the day upon which, two years ago, YOU, in common with all your fellow-members of the ONE HOLY CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH, were addressed on the subject of the Slave Trade, by the Supreme Pastor of all the Faithful, I present to you, in the hope of interesting you in favour of the natives of those countries, who are your fellow-subjects under Queen Victoria; and in favour of your own fathers, brothers, sons, or relatives, who may be inhabitants of those distant regions in the service of their country, the following pages. They are intended to assist the arduous exertions of many generous friends of India in Great Britain, and particularly of him, whose eloquent appeal to the inhabitants of Glasgow I venture to recommend most earnestly to your attentive perusal. The present Lord Mayor of your capital City has already, with that remarkable readiness and ability which he is ever wont to display in advocating the cause of the injured and oppressed, on several occasions, and particularly at a meeting held on the 26th of last August, at the Corn Exchange in Manchester, for the formation of a Northern Central British India Society*, come forward before the people of England,

* See a pamphlet, entitled, "Proceedings of a Public Meeting for the formation of the Northern Central British India Society, held at the Corn Exchange, Manchester.—At the Society's Office, 32, Charlotte-street, Manchester—1840." Forty-six pages, 8vo.

in support of the sacred cause, to which I wish to direct, in a particular manner, by means of these pages, the attention—while I hope to excite the sympathy—of CATHOLIC IRELAND.

These pages are meant to show you, that some more powerful agency than that which has been exerted in Great Britain, to counteract the encouragement, which erroneous notions have induced the manufacturing interests of your sister-country to give to a not less *ruinous*, than unchristian and inhuman traffic, is requisite to open the eyes of the people of England to a principal cause of their present general distress. To you, CATHOLICS OF IRELAND, may be told, without fear of giving you offence, the sad truth from which your fellow-subjects in England appear to shrink, and which many advocates of the abolition of Slavery are almost afraid to tell *them*, lest in so doing those advocates should excite in their hearers feelings of distrust and aversion towards themselves, rather than of sympathy. This sad truth is—that a national expenditure of FIFTEEN MILLIONS sterling has been incurred, with no better result than an INCREASE of the Slave Trade, and in the number of Slaves exported from Africa, for the supply of raw materials for British manufactories, in the proportion, since 1807, of TWO TO ONE; while, if justice had been done to India, that raw material might have been furnished to the British manufacturer at about one-fourth of the cost at which it has been furnished, Slavery might have been already abolished in America, and an immense market might have been opened for British and IRISH export trade, which has been kept closed by an equally wicked and foolish policy. And why has all this ruin and distress been brought upon the cultivator in India and the manufacturer in Great Britain? Why is the starving workman, who is turned out of employ by the bankrupt manufacturer of Great Britain, told to look for his only remedy to what the agriculturist of Great Britain declares to be pregnant with ruin and distress to the landlord and his tenant, and the immediate forerunner of national bankruptcy? To you, CATHOLICS OF IRELAND, that truth may be told, which some of the non-Catholic Christians of Great Britain do not *wish* to hear—that Great Britain has been deaf to the voice of Urban VIII and of Benedict XIV, and continues deaf to the voice of Gregory XVI. To you, CATHOLICS OF IRELAND, it may be told, without the fear of creating on *your* cheeks the blush of shame, that though EVERY CATHOLIC Prelate and dignitary of Ire-

land, who entered the shop of your CATHOLIC Book Society, at 5, Essex-bridge, Dublin, during the space of several weeks in the present year, eagerly subscribed the address there lying for signature, in favour of the rights of humanity; though the Committee which placed Prince Albert in the chair at Exeter Hall, on Monday, June 1st, 1840, declared, that "it is the unanimous opinion of this Society, that the only complete cure of all these evils is, the introduction of Christianity into Africa;" that same Committee found it necessary, as the inexorable condition of obtaining the patronage and support of some of the non-Catholic communities in Great Britain, for the SOCIETY of which Prince Albert had kindly, and in ignorance of any such condition, consented to be the President, to declare that "DANIEL O'CONNELL SHOULD NOT SPEAK IN PRESENCE OF PRINCE ALBERT!" lest the religion of St. Francis Xavier might be praised in the presence of the husband of Queen Victoria; lest those truths might be told, in the presence of Prince Albert, to the inhabitants of London, which Mr. Thompson has told the inhabitants of Glasgow; lest it should, by possibility, be declared, that monsters in human shape, sent out by prelates of the Established Church as Christian Missionaries to British colonies, with little or no other recommendation than that they had been Catholic Priests and had apostatised—had, instead of teaching the doctrines of Urban VIII, Benedict XIV, and Gregory XVI, themselves been dealers in slaves, and had bought and sold helpless young females, torn from the bosom of their agonised parents, for the gratification of the lawless lusts of self-styled Christians.

CATHOLICS OF IRELAND! that appeal, which it would be useless, or worse than useless, for the friends of India to make to some of the manufacturers of Great Britain, I make to YOU. England has been unjust and oppressive to you, as England has been unjust and oppressive to India. Rather than be just to CATHOLICITY, she has enormously and unnecessarily increased her National Debt from about £500,000,—which was its amount when my ancestor left the head of the treasury, because, says the author of the life of James II, (vol. ii, page 484), he "generously preferred his conscience to his interests," and refused to subscribe to the Test Act—to £800,000,000, its present amount; and England is now writhing under the pressure of the interest of that debt, and seeking, in the probable ruin of her landed interests, a remedy for the awful distress of her manufacturing interests.

CATHOLICS OF IRELAND! an English Peer invites you to take vengeance of England; but such vengeance only as becomes Irish Catholics. Arouse yourselves! and with that powerful voice which compelled England to enter upon her statute book, in 1829, the recognition of her past injustice to Ireland, and an acknowledgment of the necessity which exists, for her own interests, of doing justice to Ireland in future, call upon England to recognise also her past injustice to India, and the necessity which exists, for her own interests, of no longer allowing the Act of 1833 to remain a dead letter on her statute book, and of no longer allowing the collectors of the East India Company to force, by imprisonment and by torture, the Christian subjects of Queen Victoria to drag the blood-stained car of Juggernaut; and of no longer allowing the servants of the East India Company to flog the unhappy girl who refuses to prostitute herself in the temples of that abominable idol, that the revenue of the East India Company may be augmented by the wages of her misery, and of the crime of—I shudder while I write it, but there are living evidences of the truth of what I write—her Christian ravisher!

Let this vengeance be the signal, the determined, but the only vengeance which Catholic Ireland shall wish to take of England, who ought to have been her sister country, but has been her oppressor during many centuries. It is the only vengeance worthy of Ireland. CATHOLICS OF IRELAND! save that English aristocracy, to whose avarice and tyranny the best interests of Great Britain and Ireland have been so long sacrificed, from the effects of the despair of an English people, which has not the soothing and warning voice of an Irish Catholic Clergy to alleviate and restrain that despair. And may God reward the charity of the Catholics of Ireland, by making them the instruments in the hands of HIM who alone can change the hearts of men, in opening the eyes of the landed and manufacturing interests of England to the REAL cause of the present distress of England, and to the REAL remedy for that distress, ere it be too late.

Such, CATHOLICS OF IRELAND! are the objects I have in view, in presenting to you, on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier—in whose steps so many of your own exemplary Clergy are now treading, on the very ground on which he trod for TEN YEARS AND A-HALF*,—these pages.

* Let the following answer of a non-Catholic missionary, to Question 1850 of the printed Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1832, on East India affairs, be taken as a specimen of the information of a non-

If other intentions should be imputed to me, I can only say, that I disclaim them; and YOU, at least, I trust, will give me credit for the truth of this disclaimer. Your and my present Supreme Pastor did not feel it necessary, in addressing his children in 1839, on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, 1839, to fulminate against *those not included* in the dreadful anathemas pronounced against the slave dealer *in Paraguay and the Portuguese West Indian* possessions, the sentence of being *ipso facto* cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church, not to be restored thereto, unless at the point of death, by *any* Catholic Clergyman, except the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church himself, and in no case "without previous satisfaction," by the mere fact of

Catholic missionary, on the history of the country in which he exercised (he does not inform the Committee how long) his missionary functions.

"*Q.* 1850. Can you state the number of the classes of Roman Catholics, other than those of Travancore, throughout the Company's dominions?

"*A. My best means of information* are letters which the Abbé Dubois, a *Jesuit* missionary, [Abbé Dubois is no Jesuit, but the reader will see it was important to *dub him a Jesuit before the Committee*] published about *nine years ago in London.* He says, 'Francis Xavier made many thousand converts about three centuries ago, but that, at the present time, there are not more than *a third of the Christians who were to be found* in India about eighty years ago; and that this number diminishes every day by frequent apostacy.' But the same authority describes these converts as of the lowest character, so low, that Xavier himself, at the expiration of *two years*, entirely disheartened at the obstacles he everywhere met with, and the apparent impossibility of making real converts, left the country in disgust."

It is really difficult to carry gross ignorance—or what must not be supposed—effrontery beyond this. The Abbé Dubois has repeatedly, and among other instances in an article in the 40th No. of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, stated the number of Christians *at present* in Hindostan at not less than 600,000, exclusive of 180,000 in Ceylon, and states by far the great majority to be Catholics. $600{,}000 \times 3 = 1{,}800{,}000$, eighty years ago!!! But Rev. Mr. Hough gives this answer to *Q.* 1850, *July* 19, 1832. Now, where was Rev. Mr. Hough on the 23rd of *June*, 1832? for on *that day* the printed report informs us (pages 227 to 230) of the evidence of "Monsieur l'Abbé Jean Antoine Dubois" himself, "called in and examined" by the *same* Select Committee, having the *same* chairman as Rev. Mr. Hough appeared before on the 19th of *July*. Here is the examination:

"*Q.* 1818. Were you long in India?

"*A.* I arrived in India in 1792, and left it in 1823. I was about thirty-one years in India. [The Jesuits did not exist in 1792. They were restored in 1814].

"*Q.* 1819. In what capacity were you there?

"*A.* As a Catholic Missionary from Paris, (des Missions Etrangéres), but belonging to the Propaganda Society.

"*Q.* 1821. What is the present number and state of the Catholics throughout India?

"*A.* In answer to that question I will briefly state, that owing to several reasons, which have been fully unfolded in my former works, chiefly in that entitled, 'Letters on the state of Christianity in India,' which is before the public, the *Christian* religion [generally] has visibly been on the decline during these past eighty years. When I arrived in that country in 1792, in the capacity of a

"BUYING, SELLING, TRANSFERRING, TORTURING, OR DEPRIVING OF THEIR WIVES, GOODS, OR CHATTELS, ANY HUMAN BEING, WHETHER CHRISTIAN OR INFIDEL, AS SLAVES."

No! Gregory XVI trusts, and the Catholics of Ireland, at least, will not disappoint him, that such severity, however justly called for in 1639 or 1741, by the enormity of the crime of the Christian slave merchant, or oppressor of his fellow-creature, is unnecessary to deter *His* children, in 1839 or 1841, from *disobedience to His positive commands,* and shuddering at the thought of the thousands of the disobedient children of His predecessors, who have gone to their awful account and met their eternal doom, under the double guilt of obstinate and grievous violation of the laws of their God, and of obstinate and unabsolved contumacy to the commands of the Head of that Church of which during their lives they professed themselves members, looks forward with confident hope for support in a cause most dear to his affectionate heart, to his dear children, THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

May the mildness of the common Father of all Christians be, as well as his charity, an example to ALL CHRISTIANS!

I am, Fellow-Christians and Countrymen,

Your faithful Servant,

CLIFFORD.

Dublin, December 3, 1841.

missionary, I was credibly assured by the old missionaries I found there, that before that time, [namely, at the destruction of the Society of Jesus, in 1773], the number of the native *Catholics* in the Peninsula, to the south of Kushna, was far above 1,000,000. The actual number cannot be determined with a positive precision; but it may be done by approximation. During my abode of more than thirty years in India, I endeavoured to ascertain, as far as possible, what was the present number of persons of this description, and I believe that there is no exaggeration in carrying their aggregate number to about 600,000; about 160,000 will be found in the island of Ceylon; and between 400,000 and 500,000 in the several provinces in the south of the Peninsula; however, the greatest number amongst the latter, on the Malabar coast, from Goa to Cape Comorin, including Travancore; and from the information I received from several respectable quarters, I believe that the number of *Catholic* Christians in that tract of country, amounts to about 300,000; the remainder are disseminatad over the provinces of Madura, Carnatic, Mysore, and Deccan."

Will it be believed, that with this evidence before it, the *Select* Committee reported to the House as follows?—

"*The failure* of Roman Catholic Missionaries is acknowledged *by themselves*, and attested by other witnesses; while the progress of the Protestants appears to be daily becoming more successful."

O Select Committee, Select Committee!! O House of Commons, House of Commons!!

LECTURE

OF

GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.,

ON AMERICAN SLAVERY, &c.

As reported in the "Glasgow Argus" Newspaper of November 8th, 1841.

THE following lecture was delivered in the Relief Church, John-street, on the evening of Monday last, the 1st instant, before a numerous and highly respectable audience, admitted by ticket. Mr. Thompson was accompanied to the platform by Mr. Charles Lenox Remond, of the United States, by Monsieur Linstant, of the Island of Hayti, and by a numerous body of the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, who are generally present on such occasions. On the motion of Mr. Wm. Smeal, James Turner, Esq., of Thrushgrove, was unanimously called to the Chair.

Mr. TURNER having, in a few brief and appropriate remarks, stated the object of the meeting, then introduced the lecturer.

Mr. THOMPSON rose amidst much cheering, and addressed the meeting to the following effect:—

My much respected friends. It is truly refreshing to find myself once more in the midst of a Glasgow Anti-Slavery Meeting, with well-known faces all around me, and in company with my excellent brother, Charles Remond, with whom I

have spent many happy, and, I hope, useful days, and from whom I have been separated, as it has seemed to me, too long. He, however, has been prosecuting a most successful tour through the sister kingdom of Ireland, while I have been deeply occupied in humble efforts to advance kindred questions, and devising schemes calculated at one and the same time to better the condition of our suffering, and often starving, fellow-subjects at home, and break the chains of the wretched captive abroad. (Cheers). After three months of absence, I am happy to be once more among you. (Cheers). By a placard that has been sent me, I find that the topic on which I am to address you, is the present position and future prospects of the abolitionists of the United States. I am more than satisfied with my text. It carries me at once to a country in whose destinies I feel an interest too deep for utterance. The United States! With all its faults, the most glorious Republic the world has ever beheld. (Cheers). The theatre of some of the sublimest struggles at present going on in any part of the earth. (Cheers). The experimental empire of the nineteenth century! (Cheers). A land, whose heaven-born principles are waging war with the doctrines of the pit—where the true lovers of liberty are contending, with ethereal weapons, against the masked and counterfeit democrats, who would fain dethrone the goddess they profess to worship, and enshrine the demon of oppression in her place. (Great cheering). The home of the Scottish emigrant, who has transplanted the thistle from his native glen to the prairies of the far west, and there, leaning on his plough,

> In Burns's carol, sweet, recalls
> The scenes that bless'd him when a child;
> And glows and gladdens at the charms
> Of Scotia's woods and waterfalls. (Great applause).

Land, too, of the oppressed Irishman, driven by poverty from the Green Isle of his nativity, to find a scene of honest labour, and a heritage for his hardy progeny, where Irishmen are not deemed "aliens," and who, looking towards the

rising sun, sings, in the sweet poetry of a Scotsman, but with the heart of an Irishman,—

> Erin! an exile bequeaths thee his blessing,
> Land of my forefathers! Erin go bragh!
> Buried and cold, when my heart stills her motion,
> Green be thy fields,—sweetest isle of the ocean!
> And thy harp-striking bards sing aloud with devotion,—
> Erin mavourneen—Erin go bragh! (Great applause).

I honestly confess, that, loathing as I do the baseness of those who perpetrate crimes against human liberty, in the sacred name of freedom, I have yet no sympathy with those who have no love for America. I have seen too much of America, and too much of her sons and her daughters, ever to cherish any other than a strong desire to see her fulfil her high destiny, and become, what she seems formed for being, the most glorious country in the world. (Cheers). I may here repeat what I once wrote to my increasingly-beloved friend Garrison, now more than seven years ago, when travelling in the United States, every word of which I feel in my heart at this moment. 'In imagination I have lived a thousand years upon your soil. I have roamed the banks of the Kennebec and the Penobscot with the Indian hunter; I have plunged with him into your pathless woods —

> Where rang of old the rifle shot;

I have mingled with the untutored worshippers of the Great Spirit; I have listened to the eloquence of barbarian savages, and witnessed the deeds and death of generations, whose kindlier fate it was to have their being, ere science guided the white man to these shores, and the hand of an insatiate dominion commenced the guilty work of conquest, robbery, and extermination. I have passed downwards through the bloody period of your political regeneration, and have caught a spark of the genuine patriotism from off the purest altar on which its hallowed fire was ever seen to glow—the heart of Washington. (Cheers). I have lived through ages yet to

come. I have seen this people rise, like Nineveh of old, and proclaim a fast, and put on sackcloth from the greatest even to the least, and cry mightily to God, and turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in his hands. I have heard the omnipotent voice of justice thundering in the Capitol, and echoing in the halls of legislation in the South. I have seen exulting millions trample in the dust the galling chains of an execrated tyranny, and with uplifted hands invoke the blessing of God on a nation that had at last broke every yoke, and set the oppressed free !' (Cheers). These words, written under the influence of imagination, and the feelings inspired by the scenes around me, are scarcely words of fancy or prediction now. Much that is here foreseen has been realised. Thousands have turned from the paths of oppression into the ways of righteousness. The voice of justice is heard, clear, and loud, and authoritative above the clamours of faction, the din of selfish crowds, and the yells of lawless and sanguinary mobs. Soon that which was written with reference to the future will be a record of the past. Yet a little while, and justice will rejoice upon judgment, and the millions of Africa's children now in bonds will be incorporated with the millions who rejoice in the life-giving presence of liberty. (Cheers). But to my text—"The present position of the Abolitionists of the United States." And who are the abolitionists ? They are a noble band of men and women, who have resolved to labour for the deliverance of their country from the institution of slavery. They are, without exception, the noblest portions of every sect and party in the country—(Cheers), who have joined their hearts and hands in the sacred cause of human rights; who are labouring to purify the Church, the state, the market-place, the field, and the fireside, from the gloom, and curse, and incubus of slavery. Their abolition is the abolition of slave-markets, and slave-dungeons, and women-torturing whips, and man-degrading chains, and heart-rending separations, and every species of polluting and soul-destroying selfishness, and sinful gratification. (Cheers). The aboli-

tionists are the true and practical expounders of the Scriptural doctrine of equality. They have taken the New Testament as their guide—they have rejected the interpretations and traditions received from men-stealers and their clerical abettors, and receiving in sincerity and honesty the revealed truth, that God has made of one blood the varied tribes of man, have put to flight a host of theories and dehumanising dogmas, propagated through four hundred years of rapine, and robbery, and wrong. (Cheers). They are men and women who have obtained a clear perception and deep influential conviction of the innate dignity of man, in whatever condition he is formed, and with whatever complexion it has pleased his Maker to distinguish him. While they do not exclude the humiliating doctrines of man's moral degradation and spiritual alienation from his Creator, they honour him as the noble, though degenerate workmanship of a divine hand:

> A beam ethereal, sullied and absorbed;
> Though sullied and dishonoured, still divine.

And let me say, that no man is, or can be, a genuine abolitionist, unless he imbibe these Scriptural views of man's original and universal equality. They constitute the links which bind man to man over all the world. I speak not of the still higher and holier fellowships of religion, but even into these fellowships we are introduced through the same doctrines, which bring all down to the same level, and exalt all who are partakers of like precious faith into the enjoyment of the same hope and the dignity of the same calling. I beseech you, then, get upon the right ground. Shut your eyes to physical complexions—know nothing of state demarcations—let your perceptions be purged and quickened, so that they may penetrate every disguise, and recognise a common nature in every being formed for immortality. (Cheers.) This anointing the abolitionists of the United States have experienced. They behold all mankind as their brethren. They see only the spiritual nature and affinity of the races. They recognise one God creating all—one destiny

awaiting all—their humanity and feelings of brotherhood are not regulated by the colour of the skin. They are not repelled from offices of kindness and deeds of deliverance, by the form or features of the negro. They have an eye that—even in his rudest state—

> Sees in his flexile limbs untutor'd grace,
> Power in his forehead, beauty in his face;
> Sees in his breast, where lawless passions rove,
> The heart of friendship and the home of love;
> Sees in his mind, where desolation reigns,
> Fierce as his clime, uncultured as his plains,
> A soil where virtue's fairest flowers might shoot,
> And trees of science bend with glorious fruit;
> Sees in his soul, involved in thickest night,
> An emanation of eternal light,
> Ordain'd, midst sinking worlds, his dust to fire,
> And shine for ever, when the stars expire.

They ask,—

> Is he not *man*—though knowledge never shed
> Her quickening beams on his neglected head?—
> Is he not *man*—though sweet Religion's voice
> Ne'er made the mourner in his God rejoice?—
> Is *he* not man—by sin and suffering tried?
> Is *he* not man, for whom the Saviour died?
> Belie the Negro's powers:—in headlong will,
> Christian, *thy* brother thou shalt find him still:
> Belie his virtues—since his wrongs began,
> His follies and his crimes have stamped him Man.

Such are the abolitionists of the United States. Theirs is not an association for the prevention of cruelty to animals, but for the rescue and elevation of *man*, degraded by oppression, but acknowledged to be equal with themselves in the regard of his Creator, and in the original faculties of his immortal mind. From the book that has taught them the nature of man, they have also learned what are the rights of man. That he is not a being made to be a slave—to be reduced to the level of a beast—to be classed among personal chattels—to be driven with a whip to his toil—to be robbed of the fruits of his labour—to be torn from the wife of his

bosom—to be denied the blessings of education—to be debarred the light of knowledge—to be kept from the discharge of his duties to his God—to be hated for the colour of his skin—to be branded with the mark of Cain—to be put beyond the pale of humanity—and to be written down for ever an article of merchandise—a thing. That they are called upon to remember him as bound with him.—They have learned, too, their duties towards their brothers in bonds, to use *their* liberty for the abolition of *his* slavery—to cry aloud and spare not—to rebuke the apostacy of those who call themselves the ambassadors of Christ, yet hold as merchandise, and sell for filthy lucre, the members of his own body—who, with the price of blood in their hands, yet break the sacramental bread—who, instead of carrying his lambs in their bosom, tear them from the fold, and hurl them to be rent by wolves. (Cheers.) They have discovered, too, the secret of abolishing slavery. That it is by the regeneration of public sentiment—by a power mightier than armies, the power of *truth*, of *principle*, of *virtue*, of *right*, of *religion*, of *love*. That it is that power before which the slave trade has fallen elsewhere, which is mitigating the sternest despotisms, which is spreading Christianity to the ends of the earth, which carries in itself the pledge of destruction to every institution which debases humanity. (Cheers.) That before this power all other powers must fall. That it is leagued with God's omnipotence. That it is aided by the same description of moral power in every part of the world. That it cannot be crushed by carnal weapons. That it cannot be reached by penal statutes. That it cannot be shut out by territorial lines or local legislation. That it cannot be whipped into submission, or laughed into contempt, or frowned into silence, or burned into ashes. This power the abolitionists of the United States are wielding for the destruction of slavery. They are flashing the light of truth into the consciences of men. They are sowing seed that is indestructible. They are speaking with a voice that has an echo in every human heart. They are mighty in the simplicity of their principles.

They are terrible in the peacefulness of their measures. They are rich in the blessing of the perishing. The imprecations of their enemies ascend, but turn into blessings, to fall upon the hosts of the faithful, or into thunderbolts to scatter the armies of the aliens. Their defeats are triumphs. Their losses are gains. Like Moses's bush, they mount the higher, and flourish unconsumed in fire. Their success, however, must, in the nature of things, be slow and progressive. Such a mighty revolution as that which they are seeking to bring about can only be achieved by a struggle continued through a series of years. Their war is upon the opinions of men. Nor upon the opinions of men only. Arrayed against them are false patriotism, and rotten politics, and complicated interests, and deep-seated prejudices, and long-cherished pride, and slavish habits, and brutal lusts, and corrupted theology, and guilty fear, and sectional ambitions, and a time-serving policy, and a degenerate and venal press. They are still the mark of ridicule—the objects of reproach—the victims of persecution. Their position is one of personal danger, of fiery trial, of temptation and difficulty. I know of no body of persons whose situation entitles them to more sympathy or support. (Renewed cheers.) It may, in truth, be said of the United States, in regard to slavery, that the whole head is sick, the whole heart is faint. I have before, in this city, depicted the state of the American churches. I did so in the presence of a talented minister of one of the leading denominations. My statements, which were not then refuted, were more than confirmed by the united testimony borne upon the subject by the American delegates at the late Convention in London. One of those delegates has left behind him a work entitled " The American Churches, the Bulwarks of American Slavery," containing a revelation of a state of things fitted to fill every Christian heart with horror, and bring a blush upon the cheek of every one concerned for the honour of the Christian name, or the prosperity of the cause of the Christian religion. That work demonstrates that the American Methodist Episcopal Church, with its 700,000 members; the

Baptist Church, with its 500,000 members; the Presbyterian Church, with its 350,000 members; as well as the minor denominations, with two or three honourable exceptions, are radically unsound on the question of slavery; and that their ecclesiastical influence is directly in favour of the continuance of slavery, and opposed to the operations of the abolitionists. Take an example or two. What was done at the General Conference of the Methodists last year? It was resolved,

"That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit coloured persons to give testimony against white persons, in any state where they are denied that privilege by law.—This was carried."

Take the sentiments of a leading member of the Conference:—

"In its civil aspect, neither the general government, nor any other government, ecclesiastical or civil, either directly or indirectly, has a right to touch slavery." In its ecclesiastical aspect, "we are bound, by the twenty-third article of our religion, to submit to the civil regulations of the state under which we live." In its moral aspect, "slavery was not only countenanced, permitted, and regulated by the Bible, but it was positively instituted by God himself—he had in so many words enjoined it."

Take the Baptists:—

"Sept. 1835. The ministers and messengers of the Goslien Association, assembled at Free Union, Virginia, state—'The most of us have been born and brought up in the midst of this population. Very many of us, too, have been ushered into life under inauspicious circumstances, having no patrimonies to boast, and inheriting little else from our parents but an existence and a name. We have, however, through the blessing of God, by a persevering course of industry and rigid economy, acquired a competent support for ourselves and families; and as a reward for our laborious exertion we received such *property* (slaves) as was guaranteed to us, not only by the laws of our individual states, but by those of the

United States. In consideration whereof we unanimously adopt the following resolutions :—

" ' 1. Resolved,—That we consider our right and title to this property altogether legal and *bona fide*, and that it is a breach of the faith pledged in the federal constitution, for our northern brethren to try, either directly or indirectly, to lessen the value of this property or impair our title thereto.

"'2. Resolved,—That we view the torch of the incendiary, and the dagger of the midnight assassin, loosely concealed under the specious garb of humanity and religion, falsely so called.

" ' 3. Resolved,—That we consider there is something radically wrong in the logic of those would-be philanthropists at the north, who lay it down as one of their main propositions, that they must do what is right, regardless of consequences, inasmuch as they will not venture to come this side of the Potomac to teach and lecture publicly where (they say) this crying evil exists.'"

Take the Presbyterians:

" The Rev. James Smylie, A.M. of the Amite Presbytery, Mississippi, in a pamphlet, published by him a short time ago in favour of American slavery, says :—

" 'If slavery be a sin, and advertising and apprehending slaves, with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the Divine law, and if the buying, selling, or holding a slave for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, then, verily, three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in eleven states of the Union, are of the devil. They hold, if they do not buy and sell slaves, and, with few exceptions, they hesitate not to apprehend and restore runaway slaves, when in their power.'"

Let it, however, be borne in mind, that there are, in all these churches, numbers who repudiate, with horror, the sentiments I have quoted. But the churches in the mass are pro-slavery. I was once severely taken to task for saying, in New York, that the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians were the main pillars of American slavery. This was in 1835. But in 1840, an American born—a member of one

of these bodies—(Mr. James G. Birney), a gentleman distinguished for the caution and accuracy of his statements—a gentleman considered worthy of being put in nomination for the Presidential chair, and now before the American people as a candidate for that high honour—comes forth, and writes a book to prove that the American churches are the bulwarks of American slavery. See, then, the position of American abolitionists. Let the church here help them.

Again—The spirit of the Colonization Society is still abroad. It is true, the pernicious tendency and impracticable schemes of that society have been a thousand times demonstrated, but it is still fortified and sustained, and, though impotent for good, it is powerful for evil. While I was in America, Mr. Gurley, the talented secretary of the society, spent three months in Boston and its neighbourhood trying to collect funds. So fully convinced were his own friends of the hopelessness of his project, that the amount of his collections did not, I believe, much exceed 600 dollars, while the despised abolitionists contributed 4000 dollars at one meeting. But I find, by my last papers from America, that even in Boston there has been another attempt to resuscitate the society. My friend, Mr. Whittier, the Quaker poet, and editor of an anti-slavery paper, writes :—

"An attempt has lately been made to galvanise into life the Colonization Society of Massachusetts. A meeting has just been held in Boston, under the direction of Ex-Governor Birney and Joseph Tracey, at which a Society was formed—Wm. B. Bannister, of Newberryport, President; Parsons Cooke, and other pro-slavery clerical gentlemen and laymen, subordinate officers. The whole under the sanction and patronage of Drs. Woods and Stewart, and others of the Andover Theological Seminary. We look upon this movement, on the part of such men, at this late day, as at once disgraceful to themselves and their Christian profession. What! do they not know that from one end of the country to the other, the coloured people have declared their determination to live and die as Americans? Is this association to be auxiliary to

that of Maryland, in solemnly warning the objects of its singular benevolence, that an asylum having been prepared for them on the coast of Africa, they had better go at once, to avoid the alternative of being compelled to do so? What other practical object *can* it have? The free coloured population are determined, come what may, to remain in the land of their nativity; and yet, with the full knowledge of this, grave professors and doctors of divinity, in Massachusetts, form a society to *colonize* this class of their fellow-citizens on the coast of another continent! But we need not waste words upon this pitiful affair. It can do nothing. It will perish like the Colonization and American Union Societies which have preceded it—unlamented, save by its originators. *It has the curse of the poor and perishing upon it.*" That the spirit and designs of this society have not improved, may be gathered from the fact, that the *Maryland* society have recently adopted and published the following resolution:—

"That while it is most earnestly hoped that the free coloured people of Maryland may see that their best and most permanent interests will be consulted by their emigration from this state; and while this convention would deprecate any departure from the principle which makes colonization dependent upon the voluntary action of the free coloured people themselves—yet if, regardless of what has been done to provide them with an asylum, they continue to persist in remaining in Maryland, in the hope of enjoying here an equality of social and political rights—they ought to be solemnly warned, that, in the opinion of this convention, a day must arrive, when circumstances that cannot be controlled, and which are now maturing, will deprive them of choice, and leave them no alternative but removal."

The annals of persecution and base hypocrisy furnish, in my opinion, nothing worse than this. Yet here you have the true and genuine spirit of the American Colonization Society. Here is a mock benevolence, prompted by a wicked and unnatural prejudice, as foreign to the essence of Christianity as murder itself, calling to its aid the spirit of persecution, as

cruel and unrelenting as any that ever drove a white person from the shores of Europe to the continent of America. And yet this society has its agents in this country at the present moment. They, however, reveal not the real character of the institution. Here, like the veiled prophet in Moore's poem, it wears a radiant outside—it speaks in tones as sweet as its disguise is glittering. No Maryland resolutions are produced; no feelings of hatred are displayed; the doctrines of Henry Clay are concealed; the opposition of the coloured people is kept in the back ground; the determined pro-slavery principles of almost all the supporters of the society are carefully excluded from view; the riots and murders which Colonizationists commenced at home are censured here, and the society, which effectually shuts the door of hope upon the slave in America, is here represented as holding the key of his prison-house, and promising him deliverance from his captivity. (Loud cheering.) It is well, therefore, that the last annual report of the Glasgow Emancipation Society contains so many valuable documents on this important subject. Read them for yourselves, and give them circulation. But what shall we say of the position of the abolitionists in regard to the state? Let those who would see how deeply the state is implicated—who would understand the way in which 250,000 slaveholders have contrived to rivet their chains upon the so-called freemen of the north, and make all political movements subserve their own base, despotic, and ambitious ends, read the masterly work of Judge Jay upon the action of the Federal Government on behalf of slavery; or, if that be too long, or inaccessible, the no less masterly speech of William Goodell, before the New York Anti-Slavery Society, in September, 1840. Or let them, as the last and crowning proof of political obsequiousness before the dark spirit of slavery, look at the manner in which the late election of President Harrison was carried, and see how the most exalted minds in the Union, followed by politicians of all parties, prostrated themselves beneath the wheels of the southern Juggernaut. The constitution of the United States was confessedly a compromise.

Nay, the very declaration of independence was a compromise. The memoirs of Jefferson, by Judge Tucker, contain the draft of the declaration, which has a passage on slavery, struck out by order of the slaveholders who formed the Congress that adopted the instrument in its present form. Then came the permission given to men-stealers to recover their fugitive victims. (Cheers.) Then the purchase of Louisiana at the cost of fifteen millions of dollars, to enable the slave-growers of Maryland and Virginia to find a new market for their human cattle, and to increase the number of the slave states by the creation of several new slaveholding commonwealths. Thus, seven slave states were added to the Union. Then, the establishment of slavery at the seat of the federal government, which, in time, became the grand centre of a traffic in human blood and bones, under the very walls of the Capitol. Then came national diplomacy with foreign powers. Negotiation for the surrender of slaves by Mexico and England. The giving of compensation for slaves wrecked on Bermuda. The voting of money to the Colonization party to transport the coloured people. The threats of war to prevent abolition in Cuba. The refusal to recognise the independence of a neighbouring republic, because those who had courageously fought for their liberty and independence, and had succeeded in establishing both, were black men, who had been slaves. (Cheers.) I am happy that I see near me an enlightened friend from the republic of which I speak. (Cheers.) Let me say in his presence, what I am sure his countrymen feel, that I know of no more disgraceful conduct than that of the United States in refusing to recognise the independence of men who had, with equal virtue, equal bravery, and with a far better justification successfully fought the battles of liberty against the foes of the human race. (Cheers.) To this hour republican America withholds her countenance from republican Hayti. Then came plans for the recognition of Texas; the attempt to get the same vile state into the Union; the purchase of Florida; the Seminole war; the abolition of the right of petitioning; the extortion of pledges from candidates

for the Presidency. But time would fail to bring forward half the proofs which are recorded on the page of American history, of the omnipotence, hitherto, of the slave power in the United States. I adduce these, to show the position of the anti-slavery party, and that you may understand how difficult and complicated is the work to which they have put their hands. Slavery is interwoven with the frame-work of both Church and state. Both must be purified ere the captive can go free. Such is the confederacy with which the abolitionists have had to contend. No wonder, then, that they have sought your help, especially, when you add to all the difficulties I have named, others, arising at one time out of commercial embarrassments, and at another, out of unhappy dissensions which have crippled their operations, and almost threatened their existence. They have, thank Heaven! lived through all, however, and are still working with vigour and success. They have passed the Rubicon. The anti-slavery question is now recognised as a national question. The movement is no longer invisible, or contemptible. The question whether the slave shall be free, is not now one which is discussed in a garret in Boston, or a back room in New York. (Cheers). It has found its way into state legislatures—into the halls of Congress—into the councils of the White House. It is entering into every political contest, great and small. It has found its way from the Church meeting into the Association, and Synod, and General Conference, and Assembly. It comes up when questions of trade are discussed. It is the first question on the opening of every new session. The farmer thinks of it when he sows his field. The capitalist, when he lends his money. The merchant, when he imports his goods. The political economist lectures on the profit and loss of slavery. The student reads his Greek Testament to understand it. The housewife thinks of it when she buys cotton clothing for her children. The political *caucus*, when they nominate their candidates. The governor, when he takes office. The minister thinks of it when he comes to Europe. The ambassador, when on his way to St. James's.

The present position of the abolitionists, therefore, is, all circumstances considered, a proud position. They have stood through every storm. They have come stronger out of every conflict. They have worked an odious and hated topic into universal notice. They have made themselves heard and felt throughout the land. They have compelled attention. They have steadily advanced. They have in several pitched battles defeated their opponents. They have constrained reluctant senators to take sides. They have enlisted the sympathy of the civilised world. At first despised, they are now feared. Where once they were scouted as infamous, they are now courted as an important body, often holding the balance of power between contending parties. There is now little talk, as of old, of strait jackets, or states' prisons, or rewards for abduction, or gag laws, or messages demanding anti-slavery ringleaders; the wild notions of a few, have become the solemn conviction of thousands. The declaration of fifty fanatics at Philadelphia has been subscribed by multitudes, from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and from the Atlantic to the Lakes. In this work *you* have in many ways honourably participated. It is eight years and more since you resolved to aid your brethren and sisters across the ocean; and it is your satisfaction to reflect this day, that you have had your share in enabling the Abolitionists of America to gain their present prominent, powerful, and encouraging position. (Cheers).

I have (continued Mr. T.) recently been favoured with a letter from the Rev. John Keep, one of the deputation to this country to obtain pecuniary assistance for the *Oberlin Institute*, Ohio; and who was enabled to raise a very considerable amount in this city. His letter is full of expressions of gratitude to the Christian people of this country, for the help they so nobly afforded when the Institution was in circumstances of great difficulty. His letter is accompanied by another, from the Trustees of the Institute, conveying their sentiments to their benefactors in this country, and giving some deeply interesting details respecting the progress and

present state of the seminary. Through their deputation they have received £6,000 in money, 2,000 volumes for the library, and some valuable articles appertaining to a philosophical and chemical apparatus. It appears from their statement, that more than 1,300 students, about 500 of whom are now members, have been connected with the institution since its organisation eight years since; that applications for admission have always been more than their means of accommodation, and that the press this season has been greater than ever. The expediency of erecting temporary sheds or barracks, for additional students, until they can erect more substantial buildings, (which is at present impracticable, owing to the want of funds), is now a question under the consideration of the Trustees. The Trustees further state, that the religious sentiments, character, and aims of the Oberlin Institute, are the same as were laid before the people of this country by the deputation. That it is the prayerful purpose of the managers and teachers of the establishment to present to the world the practical principles and bearings of a pure gospel, and that the authority of God speaking in and through the Bible, is in all things regarded as paramount. There is also appended to the letter of the Trustees, a series of resolutions, adopted by the coloured students, expressing their warm gratitude to the people of Great Britain for their recent acts of generosity, and recording their deep obligations to the Institution, and their full confidence in the principles and plans of the management. I cannot refrain from laying before you one or two extracts from the document of the Trustees. They will show you the value of the Institution, the spirit which animates its members, and the progress which the cause of right sentiment is making in the United States:

"The Oberlin students have already furnished upwards of thirty-three years of school teaching to the coloured people in Ohio, more than half of which has been without any pecuniary compensation, and all amidst much self-denial and obloquy. Ohio is contiguous to the slave states, and through its coloured population much can be done for the poor slaves

and the free blacks in other states, in which, as in Canada and the West Indies, the students of Oberlin find fields of labour.

"One young man, a member of the Collegiate Department, who wholly supports himself by his manual labour, left Oberlin on foot for a settlement of coloured people two hundred miles distant, where he heard they needed a school. Arriving, he found need enough indeed for a school, but no house, no money, and but little energy to build one. He called for an axe, rallied some help, built his school-house, taught his school three months almost without compensation, and walked back again to support himself another season by his daily manual labour.

"A young lady taught a coloured school during the day and paid her board by teaching a white school morning and evening. Having finished the term, and not having received any compensation, she had no means to defray her expenses home. She therefore again engaged in conducting a white school sufficiently long to raise money enough for this purpose. And all this was done in the face of such violent opposition and prejudice on the part of a majority of the whites against the coloured people, that her personal safety was rendered very uncertain. This is the spirit cherished by this Institution, the only spirit which will lead to the effectual permanent relief of our coloured brethren, and the extinction of American slavery.

"Our British friends will be cheered by the fact, that the developments of the past year are greatly encouraging for the slave and his advocates. The people in the slave states are beginning to see that they must destroy slavery, or slavery will soon destroy them. The decision of the United States Court, giving freedom to the Amistad captives, has been a signal triumph over "the dark spirit of slavery" in our land. The influence of the World's Anti-slavery Convention in London is deeply felt on this side of the Atlantic, as well by slave-holders as by others. Its decisions, and the subsequent action and appeals of British Christians and churches

respecting Christian communion with slave-holders, while they have aroused fresh virulence on the part of some, are nevertheless working well upon the consciences of others. The firmness of the Governor of New York, one of the most influential of the free States, against the pro-slavery demands of Virginia, a slave-breeding state—the quite recent act of the New York Legislature, abolishing the last relic of slavery in the state, that is, the law which permitted a slave-owner to reside nine months in the state, in the quiet possession of his property in man, together with the late decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio, which gives freedom to any slave coming within its boundaries by the consent of his master; and to sum up the whole, (though several other incidents of deep interest might be mentioned), the great blow the infamous gag law, which denies the right of petition on the subject of slavery, has received in Congress this session, are all indications that the cause of the slave is progressing, and afford to this Institution and its friends the best encouragement to continue and to multiply their efforts in the cause of truth and liberty."

I have the truest satisfaction in making these facts known. They will be a source of pleasure to those who have contributed to sustain *Oberlin*, and will prove to them that they have bestowed their means, not only upon a good object, but upon grateful recipients, and that a rich harvest is likely to be gathered from the seed they have helped to deposit. With these details before us, we need no prophetic vision to discover the prospects of the anti-slavery cause in America. But if we take into view, besides what has been accomplished on the spot, what has been going on around, and the agencies which are at present at work in other countries, we can entertain no doubt that a speedy doom awaits the system. It is not with the opinion of American abolitionists alone that the slave-holders of America have to contend, but with the opinions of the civilised world; it is not with the white races of mankind alone, but with the coloured races also. Their cherished abomination is execrated by black and white

alike, wherever the name of liberty is respected or its blessings are enjoyed. In this connexion, I may mention the pleasing fact, that the emancipated coloured communities of the West Indies are beginning to manifest a deep interest in the fortunes of their brethren still in bonds, and are forming societies, and raising considerable sums of money to aid the work of emancipating their brethren. In Hayti, too, where there has long been an anti-slavery association, corresponding with the abolitionists of America, there is a revival of the cause. A meeting of citizens, favourable to immediate emancipation, was held at Porte Platte, on the 6th of May, for the purpose of forming a society in connexion with the American Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, of Boston, United States, were present, and participated in the deliberations. A society was formed, and the following, among other resolutions were passed:

"As the stronghold of slavery is in the example of the United States of America, we are decided by that consideration, to labour for its extinction in alliance with the American Anti-Slavery Society.

"Our measures shall be, like those of Garrison, and of the philanthropists of the American Anti-Slavery Society with whom we are in alliance, *peaceful*. They shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption; the overthrow of error by the potency of truth; the destruction of prejudice by the power of love; and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance. We will never countenance, in connexion with this Society, either insurrection in any other country, or violence in our own; deeming that the cause of freedom can be truly served only by moral courage, free speech and action, and persevering and unceasing labour; and that it is ultimately injured by an appeal to force and bloodshed.

"All persons loving the cause of freedom, and subscribing to the above articles, may become members of this Society, and be entitled to all its privileges; of whatever nation, rank, sect, or colour, such persons may be. As philan-

thropists, 'our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind,' our watchword is 'Liberty and Equality.'"

The slaveholders of the United States are standing at bay against the world. Even other slaveholders are comforted by the thought that the republican slaveholders must *first* fall before the alliance of the friends of human freedom. Nor is it *moral* power merely that is being brought to bear upon them. The attack is not levelled against their consciences merely. There is a silent power at work, which, with sure and resistless energy, would destroy their system, without a sermon, a remonstrance, an anti-slavery tract, or a solitary newspaper article. *Free labour* is at work. The *plough* of the freeman is coming into competition with the *hoe* of the slave. Eastern suns are ripening harvests as rich as any that are matured by western climes. The political economist is taking the place of the divinity professor. Adam Smith is preaching, as well as Moses Stuart and Dr. Drew. It is being discovered that the sugar of Bengal is as bright and as sweet as that of Louisiana, or Brazil, or Cuba; that the cotton of Tinnevelly and Guzerat will spin as well as that of New Orleans. That the tobacco of Java will sell as well at Amsterdam as the tobacco of Maryland or Virginia. That the rice of Patna makes as good puddings as that of Carolina. Capital, and enterprise, and credit, and the efforts of joint stock companies, are taking a new direction; they are going round the Cape or down the Red Sea. We are somehow or other getting it into our heads that it would be rather better to buy the corn of the freeman, who has cleared the forests of the far west, than the cotton of the slaveholder, who lifts the lash over his victim in Alabama. These may be strange ideas, but if they are acted upon, "Othello's occupation's gone." India, take it for all in all, is one of the most glorious countries on the face of the globe. This has hitherto been forgotten. It is a land of matchless scenery. It abounds in majestic rivers, affording the most ample means of intercommunication, as well as of navigation, from the sea into the far interior. Its smaller streams are innumerable. It

has salt lakes in abundance. It has mineral springs of every kind. Here you see the tall forest of stately trees, whose woods are adapted for the most useful purposes. There, the jungle, the wild luxuriance of which supplies some of the most valuable articles for exportation. Here, fertile valleys and plains, yielding not merely one and two crops, but even three and four during the year. Let me, as I have done before in this commercial city, name a few of its products. *Drugs* of every kind; *coffees* of the finest qualities; *cotton wool* of every variety, and to any extent; *sugar* of the finest description; *spices* of the rarest and purest kind; *ivory; tanning* materials; *flax; linseed; gums; caouchouc; hard-woods; rice; tobacco; silk,* raw and fabricated; *hides; tea; mother of pearl; gems;* the precious *metals; indigo; nankeens; shawls* of the most costly kind; *grains* of every variety. These are some only of the productions of our vast territories. You must have perceived, as I have gone over this list, that it includes many of those articles which we are in the habit of importing to a very large extent. Such is the case. And I affirm, without the fear of contradiction, that India is capable, not only in the fertility of her soil, but the industry of her children, of supplying *all* our chief articles of tropical growth, and of putting them into our hands at a rate much lower than that at which we have been accustomed to procure them; of the best *quality* in the greatest *abundance,* and free, equally, from that *insecurity* and *pollution* which now attach to the same articles from the United States. Once more let me refer to the American slave-cursed staple—*cotton.* (Cheers.) This is a branch of the question I have endeavoured to study in all its bearings. Upwards of 50 millions of capital are embarked in the cotton manufactures of this country. Nearly 20 millions sterling are paid for the *raw material* landed on your wharfs. A million and a half of the hardy and industrious people of this country are employed in the trade. Any event which would stagnate or suspend that trade, would not be a local, but a *national* calamity—it would be felt through all the veins of

the nation. (Cheers.) I cannot bear to contemplate the scenes which would inevitably follow upon the standing still, even for a short time, of the cotton manufactures of this country. Yet, I cannot forget that our supply of this article is both precarious and polluted. It comes from America. I cannot forget that of 500 millions of pounds weight of cotton wool imported into this country, 4-5ths are the produce of slaves in America. That, owing to the discouragement of free labour, and the premiums given to slave produce, our supply is not only fluctuating, and insecure, and contaminated, but exceedingly limited, and of a high price. We are dependent on America. We are at the mercy of men who trade in blood, and gamble in the produce of oppression. But is this necessary? Is abject dependence upon the submission of slaves, the prevalence of peace, the clemency of the elements, the mercy of cotton planters, and brokers, and bankers, (who *Biddle* and *Diddle* the people of this country at their pleasure); is this abject dependence entailed upon us by the law of nature, or the state of the world? No. The country of which I have spoken to-night is the home of the cotton-tree. There are in India, not two millions of acres of land which may be cultivated for our uses, as in the cotton states of America, but 200,000 square miles, over the whole of which cotton may be grown. From Guzerat to Musilipatam, and from Mysore to Bundlecund, is a vast region fitted for the growth of that article. There is an illimitable soil. There is free labour to any extent; labour that may be obtained at two-thirds less cost than the labour of slaves; a people that have planted the cotton-tree; have picked its produce; have spun, and wove, and worn it, for three thousand years; a people that every year grow and consume almost as much as we ourselves import. Why, then, do we not look to India, and make the banks of the Kistna and the Nerbudda give us that which is brought from the slave-trodden banks of the Sabine and the Mississippi? (Cheers.) We want coffee. Why is our supply limited? Because from absurd restrictions! The southern part of India would give it

us in abundance; and, instead of being *dear*, and *adulterated*, it might be *pure*, and *cheap*, and *plentiful*, if we would do fiscal justice to India. The tobacco which we take in such vast quantities from America, might be brought from our own dominions, where it grows wild in every part, and to the great advantage of our fellow-subjects, who now derive little or no benefit from this part of the produce of their soil. The rice of Patna and Benares might compete with the rice of the Carolinas, and, instead of being sent from India, as it is, to feed kidnapped Coolies in the Mauritius, might be made the means of liberating those who are kept to grow it for us in America. But time would again fail me to tell of the fruitfulness of this region, and of the adaptation of its resources to the wants of this nation. No section of the globe besides can be pointed to possessing equal capabilities for the production of the very articles for which we are now paying upwards of 34 millions sterling every year, three-fourths of which go into the pockets of slaveholders. Had we now to seek, for the first time, the commodities we have been long accustomed to import; were we now for the first time to inquire, "Where can we obtain, readily and cheaply, sugar and rice, and cotton and coffee, and tobacco?"—the answer would be, *India*. If you wanted these in abundance, you would go to India; if cheap, you would go to India; if a certain supply, you would go to India; if the produce of free labour, you would go to India. If you wanted, at the same time, to promote the good of the native population, you would go to India. If from your own dominions, you would still go to India. (Cheers.) Yet to India we have not gone. We have committed two evils. We have despised the misery and poverty of our conquered and famishing fellow-subjects in India, as well as the riches of the soil they would have cultivated for our service, and we have gone to the countries that have produced these by slavery, and have deluged Africa with blood, and spread desolation through her villages, that we might offer fresh victims on the shrine of their merciless and insatiate cupidity. Is it so with other countries? No.

Look at what the Dutch are doing with Java. An article in one of the last numbers of the *Friend of India*, on the exports of the Island of Java, reviews the latest accounts from Batavia; from which it appears that the export trade of Java has exceeded the most sanguine expectations. In the last year the island had exported *one hundred and forty-one millions* of pounds of coffee. The increase in the export of sugar has been even more remarkable still. From 1801 to 1831, the increase in the export of sugar has been still more remarkable. From 1801 to 1831, the increase in the exportation of sugar has been about 12 per cent. In the last ten years the increase has been between eight and nine hundred per cent.! In 1840, the quantity amounted to 56,189 tons, or more than one-fourth the whole consumption of England. The growth of indigo has been nearly doubled in a single year, and amounted, in 1840, to 2,123,911lbs. It is stated, that the facilities for its cultivation have been multiplied to such an extent, that the island is soon expected to produce quite as much as is grown in British India!

And then behold the frightful and guilty termination of our doings! We reject the free-grown corn of America, raised by the industry of the bold New England emigrant to the far west, or perhaps by our own countrymen there; and which corn would feed the lean, and haggard, and discontented population at our own doors; corn, too, that might be paid for in our own manufactures. We forbid the ship that brings this precious freight to enter our ports, unless to put her cargo under the seal and key of the custom-house officer, not to be released until famine stares us in the face; while we welcome the bales that come steeped with tears, wrung from a thousand toil-worn slaves, whose industry feeds only the tyrant master, who scourges them to the field, and scourges them while they are there. But enough on this part of the subject. It is rather with our prospects than our present circumstances that I have to do. The cry has gone forth—"*The slave shall be free!*" (Cheers.) The principles of free trade *versus* mono-

poly; of free labour *versus* slave labour; of corn *versus* cotton, are beginning to be discussed. I fear not the result. Let feudal lords at home unite with tyrant slave-lords abroad; the might of truth; the spirit of liberty; the growing feeling in favour of free, unrestricted, honourable intercourse, will be found too strong to grapple with, by either the monopolists of food or the monopolists of freedom. (Cheers.) Let me entreat you to-night, as I have often done before, to take large and comprehensive views of the subject of slavery. Look to its foundations and supports, and forward, as the friends of liberty, all measures that are just, that promise to bring about its extinction. (Cheers.) In the mean time, the abolitionists of the United States demand your sympathy. They are yet exposed to blood-thirsty ruffianism. More especially the unfortunate coloured population. Look at the fearful scenes of Cincinnati during the last few months. The unhappy and inoffensive coloured people plundered and butchered by the population of a civilized and misnamed Christian community! (Sensation.) Upon this transaction, Mr. Garrison, in his paper, observes—

"We lack words as well as room, to express the mingled emotions of pity, indignation, and horror, that swell tumultuously within us, in view of the frightful outrages perpetrated upon the unoffending coloured inhabitants of Cincinnati, by a band of ruffians, virtually headed by the mayor and city authorities, and sanctioned by the citizens generally. Thus far all the particulars are gathered exclusively from pro-slavery sources; and yet it is perfectly plain that no blame can justly be attached to the coloured people, either individually or collectively. Eternal infamy will rest upon Cincinnati for her murderous spirit and bloody deeds. The Lord succour the hunted victims and their persecuted advocates in that city!"

Another writer:—"To us, the brutal outrages committed upon the persons and property of the blacks is the foulest of all the events that occurred. They were disarmed. The faith of the rioters was pledged to protect them. Yet, while thus

defenceless, when the men had been removed to the jail for safe keeping, the mob attacked their property, destroyed it, drove out the women and children from their houses, and some ruffians went even so far as to violate the chastity of a young black girl! What a picture! What a tale to tell of a civilized city!"

As some set-off against this horrid deed, we may mention the deliverance of the Amistad captives, and their probable speedy return to the land and spot of their birth. Mr. Lewis Tappan writes,—

"So great is the desire of these people to return to their native country; to their 'wives, children, and friends;' and so much encouraged are the committee in the belief that the situation of Mendi, and the route to it, can be learned at Sierra Leone, that they have resolved on sending a special agent to that colony the present autumn, accompanied by Covey, and two among the most intelligent of the Mendians, on a tour of inquiry. If it be possible for them they will reach Mendi; convey to the relatives of Cinque, and the rest, the fact, that these men and children, supposed to be lost, are alive and well; that is, the survivors of the group who were torn from Africa by the human blood-hounds who transferred them to Ruiz and Montes. After conveying this joyful intelligence, they, or some of them, will return to the United States to conduct the whole band to Africa. Joshua Coffin has been selected as the proper individual to go to Sierra Leone on this important mission. His noble daring, skill, and perseverance in visiting Mississippi, and bringing off Isaac Wright, a New York coloured young man, who had been sold into slavery by a Yankee captain, together with his general intelligence, eminently qualify him for such an undertaking."

Look, too, at the awful prevalence of lynch-law over the whole of the southern states; and oh, continue unrelaxed in your efforts, until your brethren of America and the negro they have enslaved are free. (Loud cheers.) Though I have trespassed long upon your time, I am compelled to forego the

mentioning of many most interesting topics which I had intended to bring before you. But like yourselves, I am anxious to listen once more to the voice of my brother and fellow-labourer behind me. He comes amongst us to-night to say farewell. I hope not for ever. I will make room for him. When you have heard him, I shall ask to be heard for a few more moments. Before I sit down, however, let me state, that a special meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society is to be held in the city of Philadelphia on the 3d day of the ensuing month, December. In the call convening this meeting, the executive committee say,—

"The associations connected with a special meeting, commemorative of the formation of the Society, will doubtless add to the interest of the occasion. But the state of the country—the general excitement and sensitiveness of the public mind with regard to whatever may affect its prosperity—the growing willingness of the public ear to listen to arguments on the impolicy of forced labour—the accumulating proofs of the superiority of free over slave labour, in point of economy and productiveness—the multiplied developments of the system in its moral relations—and the general interest that prevails relative to national advancement, will furnish an ample fund of matter for deliberation and inquiry. The country, and humanity, have claims on anti-slavery energy, which should not be set aside. Let there be a general convocation. It is in the power of abolitionists to give to this meeting a deeper and more momentous interest than has ever been witnessed on any similar occasion. Let them do it, in the name of Justice and Right—for the sake of the nation and the world. There needs but a steady resolve on their part, to give a strong accumulative impetus to the progress of human civilization. Brethren and sisters, suffer no obstacles to prevent your attendance."

I trust this meeting will be productive of the most important and happy results. (Mr. Thompson sat down amidst loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN then introduced Mr. Remond, who was greeted with warm approbation.

Mr. Remond said--Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I confess I feel much difficulty in rising to speak, after the able, impressive, and useful lecture with which this large and respectable audience has been favoured by my esteemed friend, Mr. Thompson, and also from inability to say anything additionally illustrative of the subject. It has been well remarked by our respected Chairman, that my voice has been often heard in the city of Glasgow. Sir, it is true, my feelings, views, sentiments, and principles, on the Anti-Slavery question and cause, are fully before this community. On reviewing what I have said, I find nothing to alter or to retract; and that which I have expressed in Scotland, I have expressed in many parts of England, and more recently in Ireland. (Cheering.) Let me say, that never were my hopes higher, my expectations stronger, or my zeal more ardent, than at present. Since my travels in Ireland, I am more than ever convinced of the influence which the United Kingdom is capable of exerting, and will increasingly exert, as their connexion and responsibility shall be more clearly seen and felt, for the overthrow of the iniquitous system of American slavery. (Cheers.) The only excuse which either England, Scotland, or Ireland can find for countenancing, in any degree, that injurious, dangerous, and pernicious system, consists in the nature of their mercantile and manufacturing interests--in the pecuniary advantages of our system to these countries. This impression will not long continue--no longer than the people having connexion with that country shall remain ignorant of the truth. I am happy to say, many in Ireland have resolved to look this question in the face--and if American slavery lives and flourishes upon the purchase, manufacture, and consumption of American cotton, it shall not be long ere the support is destroyed. (Cheers.) Happy, very happy, was I to notice the warm response given to the reference made by our valued friend, Thompson, to the capabilities, resources, and productions of India, and the incalculable advantages which must accrue to the three countries, if public opinion shall be directed to that empire, and its riches be

brought into competition with the slave produce of our country (Cheering.) [Here Mr. Remond expressed a wish that the applause of his friends might not consume the time.] I remark again, when a single slaveholder or his apologist shall make out a justifiable case for the enslavement of our kind, I will cease my humble efforts in this cause ; but never, while I can point to victims like the one on my left, whose back bears tokens of his wrongs and sufferings in my own country, when I think, too, of the friend on my right, from the island of Hayti, an island whose history has proved a dire disturber of the peace of slaveholding communities throughout the world. Sir, these things, in connexion with the progress of the cause in our country, should encourage, stimulate, invigorate, and urge onward and upward all friends to this high, and just, and holy enterprise ; and, if so, then the poor slave will be found still to " hope on and hope for ever." (Cheers.) And when we take into consideration the efforts being made on this side of the Atlantic, in them the slaveholders may plainly read the fate of their policy. Sir, when we look to the names of the men who constitute the supporters of this and other associations, having the same general object in view, we may justly exclaim, " something will be done." And, above all, when we contemplate the object and efforts of the British India Society, whose important claims are fast securing the public attention, who can doubt the issue ? But, Mr. Chairman, this subject needs no further elucidation at my hands, and at this late hour. When I rose, I did not think to retain the floor so long. Let me conclude by saying my heart goes along with the sentiments this evening expressed. Glasgow was early, and has ever been conspicuous in the cause of emancipation. Heaven grant she may continue to the end of the chapter, true, faithful, persevering. That which I have already said, I repeat—that the cause which has been, under God, launched forth by William Lloyd Garrison, is, in my estimation, second to none, save that of the spiritual salvation of men, with which, too, it is inseparably connected. With these remarks, let me say, with a full and grateful heart, to all my friends—farewell. (Loud applause.)

Mr. THOMPSON again came forward and said—Sir, it is with feelings of delight, qualified by many regrets, that I rise to discharge a duty, at once prompted by my own heart, and assigned me by the Committee of this Society. Our friend who has retired, is about to leave this country to return to his own. He has been with us for fifteen months, and as it was my privilege to become acquainted with him immediately he reached these shores, so it has been my privilege to be associated with him, intimately and affectionately, during the whole of his stay upon them. From the deep interest I have felt in him, both on his own account personally, as well as because he represents millions of our race in suffering and captivity, I have been led to watch, with an anxious and a jealous eye, all his movements. I have had peculiar opportunities for forming an estimate of his character, and for ascertaining the amount of influence which his labours are calculated to exert upon the public mind; and most happy am I to be able to bear my testimony to the uprightness and purity of his principles, and to the extraordinary success of his endeavours to enlighten the people of this country on the subject of Slavery in the United States. The influence of his talents has been aided by the character he has maintained. He has not only multiplied converts to our cause, but friends for himself. The coloured population of the United States have been fortunate in having had so rarely endowed an advocate of their claims in this country. He has, wherever he has been seen and heard, begotten an unwonted feeling of sympathy with his brethren in bonds. With fervid eloquence he has exposed the wrongs inflicted on his race. With manly dignity he has vindicated the claims of the outcast negro to the full honours of humanity, and the unabridged rights of brotherhood and citizenship. In his own person he has demonstrated the intellectual equality of a class oppressed and trodden under foot as an inferior portion of the human family. (Cheers.) He has denounced, with feelings that those only can experience, who, like himself, have suffered "the oppressor's scorn, the proud man's contumely," the manifestations and fruits of

that prejudice against the colour of the skin, which has driven the spirit of Christ from the hearts, and the mandates of Christ from the memory, of his white and persecuting countrymen. He has carried his hearers to distant scenes of unpitied sorrow and unrequited toil, and has made them feel for them that are in bonds, as bound with them. He has based his advocacy of human rights upon the loftiest and most impregnable principles. He has recommended means which are the most rational and peaceful, and the most certain in their results. He has accomplished much. In his late tour in Ireland, he has succeeded in waking up a feeling in behalf of the slave wholly new, and has linked the cause of personal freedom to the cause of temperance, which has so gloriously triumphed among the people of the "Emerald Isle." That a labourer so efficient should leave us, just at a time when the fields are white unto the harvest, is to me, and must be unto all, a matter of regret. To lose one whom we love, and who for his own sake we desire to keep among us, is also a cause of sorrow. But I own I feel peculiar emotion when I remember that our friend, though no stranger to America, nor to trials and suffering there, goes back to suffering and trial which will be made still more bitter, by the treatment he has received on these shores. Here, he has been hailed as a man—cherished as a brother—caressed as a friend. (Cheers.) No show of disrespect—no brutal taunts—no scornful looks—no acts of proscription have crossed his path, to grieve his soul, or tempt him to flee our society. (Cheers.) But another lot awaits him. Though, on his return, he will be welcomed by the faithful few, and taken to their hearts, he will have still to endure the obloquy, reproach, and insults of those who can despise the noblest work of God, and trample their Maker's image in the dust, when reflected in the soul of a coloured man. God grant him patience! I have confidence that he will justify all our hopes; I feel that he will be steadfast and immoveable; that he will be as full of good works in the cause of the slave amidst the darkness and the terrors which await him, as he has been

here, while cheered by the smiles, and burdened almost with the grateful and admiring attention of those who happily are strangers to the feeling which blights and withers his countrymen. (Cheers.) His course at home will be watched by us with solicitude. He will have our humble prayer that he may be preserved and strengthened, and I hope he will be spared to revisit us, as the bearer of the delightful tidings, that better feelings and more righteous principles are guiding the actions of the white population of America. (Cheers.) Believing that I know the sentiments you entertain towards my friend, and the estimation in which you hold his abilities and his labours, I submit with confidence the resolution which has been entrusted to me. It connects him with the cause with which he is identified, and calls upon you to pledge yourselves that you will continue to love and cherish both. I am sure I may, in your name, commission our friend to say to his fellow-labourers, with whom he will soon, I trust, have a happy meeting, that our hearts are still with them; that our love for them is unabated, and that we wish them good speed in the name of the Lord. With these remarks, I submit the resolution. It is as follows: viz.

"That the friends of Universal Emancipation now present cannot permit Mr. Remond to leave this city for his native country without expressing to him their affectionate regard for his person, their respect for his character, their admiration of his talents, and their gratitude for the eminent services he has rendered to the abolition cause, during his visit to Great Britain; they would also emphatically assure him of their deep sympathy with his suffering brethren in the United States, and throughout the world; of their increasing hatred of the prejudice and slavery of which they are the victims; and of their best wishes for his future success, and the early triumph of his cause."

Mr. Thompson then introduced his friend Mons. Linstant, from the island of Hayti, delegate to the late Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and apologised to the meeting for the inability of his friend to express himself fluently in the En-

glish language, French being that which he had always been accustomed to speak.

M. Linstant briefly addressed the meeting, and expressed his warm devotion to the cause which had brought them together. He felt grateful for the kindness which had been shown him in this city, and for the uniform respect and hospitality with which he had been treated ever since he had come to our shores. (Cheers.)

Mr. John Murray proposed the following resolution of thanks to Mr. Thompson for the lecture he had delivered:

"That the thanks of this meeting be giving to George Thompson, Esq., for the interesting and instructive address he has now delivered, on the position and prospects of the abolitionists of the United States. That while listening with delight to the proofs which have been furnished of the success of their brethren and sisters in America, this meeting has felt reanimated in their desire to promote the emancipation of the Slave, whether in America, the East Indies, or any other portion of the globe; and resolves to continue steadfast and diligent, until the work of universal freedom shall, through the blessing of God, be accomplished."

He said the motion needed no recommendation. The lecture to which it referred was its best commendation to the hearts of those present. (Applause.)

Bailie M'Leod cordially seconded the resolution, which was put from the chair and carried with great applause.

Mr. Thompson said he was glad that the resolution just passed gave him the opportunity of announcing, while he thanked his friends for their kind feelings towards him, the zeal and liberality of the ladies in various parts of the kingdom, who for some time had been engaged in preparing boxes of fancy work, to be sold at a Bazaar, to be held about Christmas, by Mrs. Chapman and her noble band of coadjutors in the city of Boston. (Cheers.) The ladies of Glasgow had already despatched a box, of the value, as he understood, of £60. He himself had under his custody in Manchester contributions from ladies in London of about the same value.

These Mr. Remond would carry with him, together with similar donations from Dublin, Cork, Darlington, and other places; so that in the aggregate he trusted there would be a creditable present offered to the excellent ladies of Boston, who could not fail to turn every article into money, and every dollar and cent into active and zealous labour on behalf of the slave. All who had so endeavoured to aid the cause in America would hear in due time of the result of their exertions.

Thanks were voted to the Rev. Wm. Anderson and the managers for their kindness and liberality in granting the use of the chapel, and to Bailie Turner for his conduct in the chair. (Applause.)

The meeting then separated.

EXTRACTS

FROM APPENDIX A.

To "Proceedings at the First Public Meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and for the Civilization of Africa, held at Exeter Hall, on Monday, 1st June, 1840. *His Royal Highness Prince Albert, President of the Society, in the Chair."—London: Clowes & Sons, Stamford-street.*

PROSPECTUS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, AND FOR THE CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA;

Instituted June, 1839.

In the year 1807, Great Britain prohibited all her subjects from engaging in the Slave Trade, and the Legislature of this country, in accordance with the voice of the people, repudiated a commerce which had produced more crime and misery than, perhaps, any other single cause of guilt and iniquity; but neither the Government, nor the Legislature, nor the subjects of this realm, were satisfied with a mere cessation from crime.

Remembering how deeply, in times of comparative ignorance, we had sustained and augmented this trade, so repugnant to every Christian principle and feeling, the nation determined to use its utmost influence, and expend its resources, in the noble attempt to extinguish it for ever.

The compass of this address will not allow even of the most compendious statement of the measures resorted to, of the treaties concluded with foreign powers, of the monies expended, and the various other efforts made to effect this object; suffice it to say that, since the year 1807, all the great Powers of Europe have been induced by Great Britain to unite in expressing their abhorrence of this traffic; and, with all, treaties more or less stringent have been made for its extinction.

The United States of America, though from political reasons they have declined any actual co-operation, have not the less denounced and prohibited all traffic in slaves from Africa. Great Britain has expended, in bounties alone, upwards of £940,000 ; and in the maintenance of the courts established for the adjudication of captured slaves, above £330,000, besides a very large sum annually in supporting a considerable force of cruizers in various parts of the globe, to intercept and destroy the traffic*. An infinitely more important sacrifice has been made in the loss of British life, which has been necessarily incurred in pursuing this object. The result, the melancholy result, remains to be stated. The traffic has not been extinguished, has not been diminished, but, by the latest accounts from which any estimate can be correctly formed, the numbers exported have increased—the destruction of human life, and all the guilt and misery consequent thereon, have been fearfully augmented ; and at the same time it may be stated, that the numbers exported from Africa are, as compared with the year 1807, as two to one, and that the annual loss of life has risen from seventeen to twenty-five.

* This expenditure, together with that caused by the payments to Foreign Powers on account of the Slave Trade, for the support of liberated Africans and for other incidental expenses, may be shown from official documents to have amounted to upwards of fifteen millions sterling.

COPY,

TAKEN BY LORD CLIFFORD, OF A

BRIEF OF POPE URBAN VIII,

Contained in a work in several volumes, folio, in the Library of the British Museum in London, entitled, "Bullarum, Privilegiorum, ac Diplomatum Romanorum Amplissima Collectio; cui accessere Pontificum omnium Vitæ, Notæ, et Indices opportunæ. Operâ et studio Caroli Coquelensis. Romæ, 1743. *Typis et sumptibus Hieronymi Maynardi, in plateâ Agonali, ad Vicum Cuccagnæ. Superiorum Facultate."*

Tom. VI. P. I & II. *p.* 183. DCIV.

Commissio Collectori Portugalliæ ut quibusvis personis inhibeat, ne quis Indos Occidentales et Meridionales vendat, in servitutem redigat, vel uxoribus, filiis, et bonis suis privet.

Dilecto Filio Jurium et Spoliorum Cameræ Nostræ Apostolicæ in Portugalliæ et Algarbiorum regnis debitorum Collectori Generali,

URBANUS PAPA OCTAVUS.

Dilecte Fili, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Exordium. Commissum Nobis a Domino supremi Apostolatus ministerium postulat, ut nullius hominis salutem a curâ Nostrâ alienam ducentes, non solum in Christi fideles, sed etiam in eos, qui adhuc in ethnicæ superstitionis tenebris extra gremium Ecclesiæ versantur, paternæ Nostræ charitatis affectum diffundamus, et quæ eis quominus ad Christianæ veritatis et fidei agnitionem perducantur quoquo modo obstaculo esse possunt, quantum cum Domino possumus, amovere studeamus.

TRANSLATION

OF A

BRIEF OF POPE URBAN VIII,

Contained in a printed work, of several volumes, folio, in the Latin language, in the British Museum in London, entitled, "A most ample Collection of Roman Bulls, Privileges, and Diplomas; to which are added the Lives of all the Popes, Notes, and a suitable Index. Edited by Charles Coquelen. Rome, 1743. *Printed at the expense of Jerom Maynard, in the Square called Piazza Navona, Cuccagna-street. By permission of Superiors."*

Vol. VI. Parts I and II. *p.* 183. No. DCIV.

A Commission issued to the Procurator of Portugal, directing him to prohibit all persons whomsoever from selling, reducing to slavery, or depriving of their wives, children, or goods and chattels, the Western and Southern Indians.

To our beloved Son, the Collector-General of the dues and fiscalities belonging to our Apostolic Chamber and the kingdoms of Portugal and the Algarves,

URBAN THE EIGHTH, POPE.

Beloved Son, Health and Apostolic Benediction,

Exordium. The Supreme Apostolical Ministry committed to us by our Lord, demands of us, that we should not consider the salvation of any man as an object foreign to our care; and that extending the affections of our paternal charity, not only towards the faithful of Christ's fold, but also towards those who live out of the bosom of the Church in pagan superstition, we should study to remove from them, as far as we are able in the Lord, whatever may be in any manner an obstacle to them to prevent their being brought to the knowledge of Christian truth and faith.

Paulus Tertius inhibuit Indos in servitutem redigi aut bonis spoliari.

§. 1. Aliàs siquidem fel. rec. Paulus Papa III, Prædecessor Noster, statui Indorum Occidentalium et Meridionalium, quos in servitutem redigi suisque bonis privari, eâque de causâ ab amplectendâ Christi fide averti, acceperat, consulere cupiens, universis et singulis cujuscumque status, conditionis, gradus et dignitatis existentibus, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœnâ eo ipso incurrendâ, a quo nonnisi ab eo, vel Romano Pontifice pro tempore existente, præterquam in mortis articulo et satisfactione previâ, absolvi possint, prohibuit, seu prohiberi mandavit, ne prædictos Indos quomodolibet in servitutem redigere aut eos bonis suis spoliare quoquomodo præsumerent, et aliàs prout in eisdem Pauli Prædecessoris in simili formâ Brevis die vigesimâ nonâ Maii 1537, desuper expeditis Litteris, quarum tenores præsentibus pro expressis haberi volumus, plenius continentur.

Urbanus mandat prout in Rubricis.

§. 2. Cum autem, sicut accepimus, causæ propter quas Litteræ Pauli Prædecessoris prædicti emanarunt, etiam de præsenti vigeant: Idcirco Nos, ipsius Pauli Prædecessoris vestigiis inhærendo, ac impiorum hominum ausus, qui Indos prædictos, quos omnibus Christianæ charitatis, et mansuetudinis officiis ad suscipiendam Christi fidem inducere oportet, inhumanitatis actibus ab illâ deterrent, reprimere volentes, tibi per præsentes committimus, et mandamus, ut per te, vel alium, seu alios, omnibus Indis, tam in Paraquariæ et Brasiliæ Provinciis ac ad flumen de la Plata nuncupatum, quam in quibusvis aliis regionibus et locis, in Indis Occidentalibus et Meridionalibus existentibus, in præmissis efficacis defensionis præsidio assistentes, universis et singulis personis, tam saecularibus etiam ecclesiasticis cujuscumque status, sexus, gradus, conditionis et dignitatis, etiam speciali notâ et mentione dignæ existentibus, quam cujusvis Ordinis, Congregationis, Societatis, Religionis et Instituti, Mendican. et non Mendican. Monachalis Regularibus, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ per contravenientes eo ipso incurrendâ pœnâ, a quâ nonnisi a Nobis, vel pro tempore existente Romano Pontifice, præterquam in mortis articulo constituti, et satisfactione prævià, absolvi possint, districtius inhibeas, ne de cætero prædictos Indos in servitutem redigere, vendere, emere, commutare, vel donare, ab uxoribus et bonis spoliare, ad alia loca deducere et transmittere, aut quoquomodo libertate privare, in servitute retinere, necnon prædicta agentibus consilium, auxilium, favorem et operam quocumque prætextu et

§. 1. For in former times our Predecessor Paul III, of happy memory, being desirous of providing for the condition of the Western and Southern Indians, who, as he had heard, were reduced to servitude, and deprived of their property, and on that account were deterred from embracing the Faith of Christ, prohibited all and each one, or ordered all and each one to be prohibited, whatever might be their state, condition, grade or dignity, and this under pain of excommunication, already pronounced, and not to be taken off unless at the point of death, upon previous satisfaction being made, from daring to reduce to slavery in any manner the aforesaid Indians; as is more fully set forth in the aforesaid letters expedited in the form of a Brief, dated the 29th day of May, 1537, the tenor of which We by these presents intend to have considered as if set forth in full.

Paul the Third forbids the reducing of the Indians to slavery, or the robbing them of their goods and chattels.

§. 2. But since, as we have been informed, the causes on account of which the letters of our aforesaid Predecessor Paul were issued, are in full force at present; We, consequently, treading in the steps of our said Predecessor Paul, and wishing to repress the audacious attempts of impious men, who, by their inhuman acts, deter from the faith of Christ the aforesaid Indians, who ought to be induced by every office of Christian charity and mildness to embrace that Faith, commission and order you, in your own person or through the medium of another or others appointed for the protection and efficacious defence in the aforesaid matters of all the Indians, as well in the provinces of Paraguay and Brazil, as in all other regions and localities in the Western and Southern Indies, strictly to restrain and forbid all and every one, whether they be Seculars, even Ecclesiastics, of whatsoever state, sex, degree, condition and dignity, even should they be persons entitled to be specially named, or whether they be belonging to any Regular Order, Congregation, Society, Religious Profession or Institute, Mendicant and not Mendicant, or Monastic, from daring or presuming to reduce to slavery, to sell, to buy, to exchange, to give away the aforesaid Indians, or to deprive them of their wives, or goods and chattels, or to carry them, or to transmit them to other places, or in any manner to deprive them of their liberty, or to retain them in slavery, or under any pretext or false colouring, to show favour, or to give counsel aid or assistance, to such act as aforesaid,

Urban commands as in the rubrics.

quæsito colore præstare, aut id licitum prædicare, seu docere, ac aliàs quomodolibet præmissis cooperari audeant, seu præsumant. Contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, ac tibi in præmissis non parentes, in pœnam excommunicationis hujusmodi incidisse declarando, ac per alias etiam censuras et pœnas ecclesiasticas, aliaque opportuna juris et facti remedia, appellatione postpositâ, compescendo, legitimisque super his habendis servatis processibus, censuras et pœnas ipsas etiam iteratis vicibus aggravando, invocato etiam ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii sæcularis. Nos enim tibi desuper plenam, amplam et liberam facultatem tribuimus et potestatem.

Derogatis contrariis.

§. 3. Non obstantibus similis memoriæ Bonifacii Papæ Octavi, etiam Prædecessoris Nostri, de una, ac Concilii generalis de duabus dietis, ac in Conciliis universalibus provincialibusque et synodalibus editis, generalibus vel specialibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus, legibus quoque etiam municipalibus, ac quorumcunque locorum piorum, et non piorum, et generaliter quibusvis, etiam juramento, confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate aliâ roboratis statutis, et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis et Litteris Apostolicis in contrarium præmissorum quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis, approbatis et innovatis. Quibus omnibus, et singulis, etiamsi de illis, eorumque totis tenoribus specialis, specifica, expressa et individua, non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes mentio, seu quævis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret, illorum tenores præsentibus pro plene et sufficienter expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis habentes, illis aliàs in suo robore permansuris, ad præmissorum effectum, hâc vice duntaxat specialiter et expressè derogamus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

or to maintain such proceedings to be lawful, or to teach that they are so, or otherwise to co-operate in any manner whatsoever in what is above set forth, and this under pain of excommunication already pronounced, and to be incurred by the very fact by such as act contrary to these orders. You are to declare that all such as contradict you, are rebellious to you, or do not obey you in the matters aforesaid, have incurred thereby the penalty of the aforesaid excommunication; you are to put them down also by other ecclesiastical censures and penalties, and by other remedial measures de jure et de facto, adapted to the circumstances of the case, without admitting any appeal, and adding to the severity of such censures and penalties by repeated infliction of them, observing therein the legal forms therein to be observed, and calling in even to your assistance, if needful, the arm of the secular power. For We thereupon give you full, ample and free power and faculties so to do.

Derogation to all contrary decrees.

§. 3. Notwithstanding any general or special edicts to the contrary, or any constitutions or ordinances of Pope Boniface the Eighth, also of happy memory, our Predecessor, concerning the one diet, or of any General Council, concerning the two diets (1), notwithstanding also any laws, even municipal laws, or any statutes of pious or secular confraternities, and in general, notwithstanding any statutes or customs, even though they be sanctioned by oath, apostolical confirmation, or any other guarantee, notwithstanding also any indults or apostolical letters, granted in any manner, which may stand in the way of these foregoing ordinances, or confirmed, approved, or innovated. For We, to the effect of these presents only, specially and expressly derogate from all and each of them, even though it should have been stipulated in any of them, that in regard of them, and of their whole tenor or import, a special, specific, express and individual mention should be made of them, and that they should not be affected by any general clauses of similar import, or although it should have been stipulated that any other particular formality should be observed in reference to them, We considering in this instance their tenor and import as if fully and sufficiently expressed in these presents, and as if inserted word for word; and as to the rest, intending that they should remain in full force, in so far as they are not in opposition to these presents, and it being our intention to derogate from whatsoever is contrary to these presents.

Dat. die 22 Aprilis, 1639, an. XVI.

Datum Romæ, apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 22 Aprilis 1639, Pontificatus Nostri anno XVI.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the 22nd day of April, 1639, in the 16th year of our Pontificate.

Dated the 22d day of April, 1639, the 16th year of the Pontificate.

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(1) The official style of the Roman court, especially in derogatory clauses, intended to *preclude* opposition to a Papal decree on the ground of special exemption, is so *laboured*, and will probably be so new to most of the readers of these pages, that I have, especially as the Latin original is printed on the opposite page, ventured to depart more in this clause than in any other, from a literal translation, in order to make the clause intelligible to an English reader. In particular, I wish to observe to all who may not have an opportunity of consulting the Bullarium Romanum, that they are not to suppose from the first words of this clause that Boniface VIII, or any other Pope, ever encouraged slavery; but the above clause is meant to preclude the opposition of such parties as might be disposed to reject the Brief of Urban VIII, on the ground of any exemption granted from future Papal decrees, *unless they were specially named therein*, by Boniface VIII.—CLIFFORD.

COPY

TAKEN BY LORD CLIFFORD, OF A

BRIEF OF POPE BENEDICT XIV,

From a folio work in the British Museum, entitled, "Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Benedicti Papae XIV Bullarium, Tomus Primus, in quo continentur Constitutiones, Epistolae, aliaque edita ab initi Pontificatus anno MDCCXL, usque ad sextum ejusdem, seu ad annum MDCCXLVI. Editio quarta, emendatior et auctior. Venetiis, MDCCLXXVII. Ex typographia Joannis Galli. Sumptibus Remondinianis. Superiorum facultate."

P. 44, XXXVII. Indorum, in provinciis Paraquariae, Brasiliae, et ad flumen *de la Plata* existentium, libertati et indemnitati consulitur.

Venerabilibus Fratribus, Antistibus Brasiliae aliarumque Ditionum Carissimo in Christo Filio Nostro Joanni Portugalliae et Algarbiorum Regi, in Indiis Occidentalibus et America subjectarum,

BENEDICTUS PAPA XIV.

VENERABILES FRATRES, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Pontificia caritas omnes homines ubique Terrarum degentes amplectitur.

Immensa Pastorum Principis Jesu Christi, qui ut homines vitam abundantius haberent, venit et seipsum tradidit redemptionem pro multis, caritas urget Nos, ut quemadmodum ipsius vices planè immerentes gerimus in terris, ita majorem caritatem Nos habeamus, quam ut animam nostram non solum pro Christi fidelibus, sed et pro om-

TRANSLATION

OF A

BRIEF OF POPE BENEDICT XIV,

From the Latin text, printed in the first volume of a work in the British Museum, entitled, "The Bullarium of our Most Holy Lord, Pope Benedict XIV, Volume the First; in which are contained the Constitutions, Letters, and other published Documents, from the commencement of his Pontificate, in the year 1740, *to the sixth year of the same, that is to say, to the year* 1746. *The fourth edition, corrected and enlarged. Venice,* 1777. *At the printing office of John Galli, at the expense of Remondi. By permission of Superiors."*

P. 44, No. 37.—Provision made for the liberty and indemnity (or personal security) of the Indians who live in the provinces of Paraguay, Brazil, and on the river *de la Plata.*

To our Venerable Brethren, the Bishops of Brazil, and the other territories in America and the West Indies, subject to our most dear son in Christ, John, King of Portugal and the Algarves,

BENEDICT XIV, POPE.

Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

The charity of the Pope embraces all men, in every part of the world.

The immense charity of the Prince of Pastors, Jesus Christ, who came and delivered himself up, the redemption for many, in order that men might have life more abundantly, urges us, who, though evidently unworthy, hold His place, as His representative on earth, to have, on that account, a superior degree of charity, and to desire anxiously to

nibus etiam omnino hominibus ponere satagamus. Etsi autem pro supremâ Ecclesiae Catholicae procuratione, infirmitati nostrae injunctâ, Apostolicam hanc Sanctam Sedem, ad quam undique gentium indies concurritur, ut opportunum et salutare emergentibus in Christianâ Republicâ sive negotiis sive detrimentis remedium afferatur hic Romae, more institutoque Majorum tenere ac regere cogimur, nec longinquas dissitasque regiones ut qualemcumque inibi Apostolici ministerii nostri pro lucrandis animabus pretioso Jesu Christi sanguine redemptis operam impendamus, ac vitam ipsam, quemadmodum cupimus, profundamus, adire non possumus; tamen sicut nolumus omnes Apostolicae providentiae, auctoritatis, benignitatisque partes ab omni natione, quae sub coelo est, desiderari, ita vos, Venerabiles Fratres, quos ad excolendam Vineam Dei Sabaoth cooperatores eadem Apostolica Sedes sibi adscivit in Pontificiae solicitudinis vigilantiaeque Nostrae partem libenter advocamus, ut et imposito Vobis muneri magis magisque satisfacere et coronam legitime certantibus in coelo repositam facilius consequi valeatis.

Episcoporum operam in subsidium advocat.

§. 1. Porro Fraternitatibus Vestris compertum est quae et quanta Romani Pontifices Praedecessores nostri et Catholici Principes de Christianâ Religione benemerentissimi, laborum incommoda ac pecuniarum dispendia alacri constantique animo passi fuerint, ut hominibus qui ambulabant in tenebris et in umbrâ mortis sedebant, per sacros operarios, tum sacris praedicationibus bonisque exemplis, tum donis, tum opibus, tum subsidiis, tum auxiliis, lumen Orthodoxae Fidei illucesceret et ad agnitionem veritatis venirent: et quibus etiam nunc muneribus, quibus beneficiis, quibus privilegiis, quibus praerogativis, quemadmodum semper factum est Infideles cumulentur, ut iis illecti, Catholicam Religionem amplectantur, in eâque manentes, per bona Christianae pietatis opera aeternam salutem adipiscantur.

Apostolicae Sedis studium pro infidelium conversione.

lay down our own life, not only for the faithful of Christ's fold, but for all mankind, without exception. But, although we are forced, on account of the supreme charge of the Catholic Church which has been imposed upon our weakness, to hold, and govern here at Rome, this Holy See, to which there is a daily concourse from all nations, in every part of the world, in order that salutary and proper remedies may be administered in the affairs, or in the disorders of emergency, which take place in the Christian Republic; and although we are thus prevented from visiting countries afar off, in order to devote ourselves personally to the task, to the best of our abilities, of our Apostolic ministry, in gaining souls redeemed by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, and from laying down, as we wish, our own lives for that purpose; nevertheless, as we are unwilling to be found deficient by any nation, in any measure of Apostolical providence, authority, or benignity, we therefore willingly call upon you, Venerable Brethren, whom the said Apostolic See has aggregated to itself for the culture of the vineyard of the God of Sabaoth, to take a share in our Pontifical solicitude and vigilance, that so you may more and more satisfy the obligation imposed upon you, and may be able to attain more easily the crown laid up in heaven for those who contend legitimately.

He calls to his help the assistance of the Bishops.

§ 1. Moreover, Venerable Brethren, you are aware how much of labour and inconvenience, how great an expenditure of money has been borne, with cheerfulness and perseverance, by the Bishops of Rome, our predecessors, and by Catholic Princes, who have deserved well of the Christian Religion, in order that the light of the Orthodox Faith might break forth, by means of sacred labourers, upon men who were walking in darkness, and who were sitting in the shades of death. To this purpose they devoted their gifts, their riches, their subsidies, their aids, that these men might come to acknowledge the truth; and you are also aware how many presents, how many kindnesses, how many privileges and prerogatives are heaped upon the Infidels even now, in conformity with what has always hitherto been the practice, in order that these men may be, by these attractions, induced (1) to embrace the Catholic Religion, and remaining steadfast in it, may obtain eternal salvation, by the practice of good works of Christian piety

The interest which the Holy See feels for the conversion of Infidels

Nonnullorum asperitas in Indos, tum infideles, tum Christianos.

§. 2. Eapropter non sine gravissimo paterni animi Nostri maerore accepimus, post tot inita ab iisdem Praedecessoribus Nostris Romanis Pontificibus Apostolicae providentiae consilia, post editas constitutiones, opem, subsidium ac praesidium Infidelibus omni meliori modo praestandum esse, non injurias, non flagella, non vincula, non servitutem, non necem inferendam esse, sub gravissimis poenis et Ecclesiasticis censuris, praescribentes, adhuc reperiri, praesertim in istis Brasiliae regionibus, homines Orthodoxae Fidei cultores, qui veluti caritatis in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum diffusae sensuum penitus obliti, miseros Indos, non solum Fidei luce carentes, verum etiam sacrae regenerationis lavacro ablutos, in montanis asperrimisque earundem Brasiliae, tam Occidentalium quam Meridionalium, aliarumque regionum desertis inhabitantes, aut in servitutem redigere, aut veluti mancipia aliis vendere, aut eos bonis privare, eâque inhumanitate cum iisdem agere praesumant, ut ab amplectendâ Christi fide potissimum avertantur, et ad odio habendam maximopere obfirmentur.

Ea improbatur a pietate Serenissimi Lusitaniae Regis.

§. 3. Hisce malis, quantum cum Domino possumus, occurrere satagentes, primum quidem eximiam pietatem et in Catholicâ Religione propagandâ incredibilem carissimi in Christo Filii Nostri Joannis Portugalliae et Algarbiorum Regis illustris zelum excitandum curavimus, qui pro filiali suâ erga Nos atque hanc Sanctam Sedem observantiâ, statim se omnibus et singulis suarum Ditionum officialibus et ministris in mandatis daturum pollicitus est, ut quemcunque suorum subditorum aliter quam Christianae caritatis mansuetudo exegit, erga Indos hujusmodi sese gerere comperissent, gravissimis juxta Regia Edicta poenis afficerent.

Pontifex hortatur Episcopos ut ipsi quoque eum refrenare curent.

§. 4. Deinde Fraternitates Vestras rogamus atque in Domino hortamur, ut nedum debiti ministerii vestri vigilantiam, solicitudinem, operamque vestram, hac in re, cum nominis dignitatisque vestrae detrimento, deesse non patiamini; quinimo studia vestra Regiorum ministrorum

§. 2. Wherefore, it is not without the heaviest affliction to our paternal breast that we have been informed, that after so many measures entered into by the apostolical providence of the Bishops of Rome, our predecessors, after the publication of constitutions, prescribing, under the severest penalties and ecclesiastical censures, that help, assistance, and protection were to be afforded, in every best possible way, to Infidels; that injuries, scourges, chains, slavery, and death were not the treatment with which they ought to meet—there should still be found persons, professing the Orthodox Faith, who, as if they had totally forgotten every sentiment of charity diffused in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, presume to reduce to slavery, or to sell to others as bondsmen, or to deprive of their goods and chattels the wretched Indians; and not only those who are destitute of the light of Faith, but even those among them who have been cleansed by the sacred font of regeneration, and who were dwelling in the mountainous and most rugged and desert districts of Brazil, and of other districts to the southward and westward, and to behave towards them with such inhumanity as to be the chief cause of their aversion to embrace the faith of Christ, and to confirm them, in the greatest degree, in their hatred of it.

The harshness of some towards the Indians, as well Christians as Infidels.

§. 3. We, being desirous of remedying as far as we are able, with the help of our Lord, these evils, have made it our first care to excite the very great piety, and the incredible zeal for the propagation of the Catholic Religion, of our most dear Son in Christ, John, King of Portugal and the Algarves, who, actuated by his sense of filial duty towards us and this Holy See, immediately gave us his promise that he would send orders to all and each of the officers and ministers in his dominions, to punish with the severest penalties, according to the royal edicts, any one of his subjects whom they should ascertain to be acting towards the Indians aforesaid otherwise than the mildness of Christian charity required of them.

Such conduct is disapproved by the clemency of the most serene King of Portugal.

§. 4. Therefore we entreat you, Venerable Brethren, and we exhort you in the Lord, that not only you will not allow yourselves to be wanting, to the prejudice of your name and dignity, in the vigilance, solicitude, and exertion in this matter, which become your ministry;

The Pope exhorts the Bishops to exert themselves also to repress such harshness.

officiis conjungentes, unicuique probetis Sacerdotes animarum pastores, quanto prae laicis ministris ad Indis hujusmodi opem ferendam, eosque ad Catholicam Fidem adducendos, ardentiori Sacerdotalis caritatis aestu ferveant.

Confirmat Praedecessorum constitutiones.

§. 5. Praeterea Nos auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium Apostolicas in simili forma Brevis Litteras a fel. rec. Paulo Papa III, Praedecessore Nostro, ad tunc existentem Joannem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem de Tavera nuncupatum, Archiepiscopum Toletanum, die 29 mensis Maii anno MDXXXVII datas, et a rec. mem. Urbano Papa VIII, itidem Praedecessore Nostro, tunc existente, jurium et spoliorum Camerae Apostolicae in Portugalliae et Algarbiorum Regnis debitorum Collectori Generali die XXII mensis Aprilis anno MDCXXXIX scriptas renovamus et confirmamus; necnon eorundem Pauli et Urbani Praedecessorum vestigiis inhaerendo, ac impiorum hominum ausus, qui Indos praedictos, quos omnibus Christianae caritatis et mansuetudinis officiis ad suscipiendam Christi Fidem inducere oportet, inhumanitatis actibus ab illâ deterrent, reprimere volentes, unicuique Fraternitatum vestrarum vestrisque pro tempore successoribus committimus et mandamus, ut unusquisque vestrum, vel per se ipsum vel per alium seu alios editis atque in publicum propositis affixisque edictis, omnibus Indis, tam in Paraquariae et Brasiliae Provinciis, ac ad flumen *de la Plata* nuncupatum, quam in quibusvis aliis regionibus et locis in Indiis Occidentalibus et Meridionalibus existentibus, in praemissis efficacis defensionis praesidio assistentes, universis et singulis personis, tam saecularibus etiam Ecclesiasticis cujuscunque status, sexus, gradus, conditionis et dignitatis etiam speciali notâ et mentione dignis existentibus, quam cujusvis Ordinis, Congregationis, Societatis, etiam Jesu, Religionis et Instituti Mendicantium et non Mendicantium ac Monachalis Regularibus, etiam quarumcunque Militiarum, etiam Hospitalium Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani, Fratribus Militibus, sub excommunicationis latae sententiae per contravenientes eo ipso incurrendae poena, a qua nonnisi a Nobis vel pro tempore existente Romano Pontifice, praeterquam in mortis articulo constituti et satisfactione praevia, absolvi possint, districtius inhibeant, ne de caetero praedictos Indos in servitutem re-

Mandat publicare Edicta in favorem Indorum.

Inhibendo quibuslibet ne eos in servitutem redigant, seu vendant, spoliant, &c.

but that, in uniting your earnest endeavours to the official exertions of the royal ministers, you should give proof to every one, how much priests who are pastors of souls are animated with a fervour of charity, superior to that of lay ministers, to afford help to such Indians, and to bring them to the Catholic Faith.

He confirms the constitutions of his predecessors.

§. 5. Furthermore, We, by Apostolical authority, and by the tenor of these presents, renew and confirm the Apostolical Letters, in the similar form of a Brief, of our predecessor Paul III, of happy memory, to the Archbishop of Toledo at that time, known by the name of John of Tavera, Cardinal of the holy Roman Church, dated the 29th day of the month of May, in the year 1537; as also those addressed to the Collector General in the kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves of the dues and fiscalities of the Apostolical Chamber, by Pope Urban VIII, also our predecessor, of recent memory, dated the 22nd day of the month of April, in the year 1639; and likewise treading in the steps of our said predecessors, Paul and Urban, and wishing to repress the audacious attempts of impious men, who, by their acts of inhumanity deter from embracing the faith of Christ, the aforesaid Indians, who ought to be induced by every office of Christian charity and mildness to embrace it, commission and order each of you, Venerable Brethren, and your successors for the time being, that each of you, either in person or through the medium of another, or of others, attend to the protection and effectual defence of all the Indians existing as well in the provinces of Paraguay and Brazil, and in the province called by the name of the river *de la Plata*, as in all other regions and localities in the western and southern Indies, and by means of edicts sent forth and communicated to the public, and exposed to public view, do most peremptorily prohibit all and singular person or persons, whether they be secular or ecclesiastical, of whatever state, sex, grade, condition, and dignity, even though they should be entitled to be here specially noticed and mentioned, or whether they be of any whatsoever order, congregation, or society, including the Society of Jesus (2), or of whatever religious body, or institute, mendicants, non-mendicants, or monastic, or regulars, or of whatever military body, including the Brother Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, under pain of excommunication already pro-

He orders the edicts in favour of the Indians to be published.

Forbidding all persons whatsoever to reduce to slavery, to sell, to plunder, &c.

digere, vendere, emere, commutare vel donare, ab uxoribus et filiis separare, rebus et bonis suis spoliare, ad alia loca deducere et transmittere, aut quoquo modo libertate privare, in servitutem retinere, necnon praedicta agentibus consilium, auxilium, favorem et operam quocunque praetextu et quaesito colore praestare, aut id licitum praedicare seu docere, ac aliàs quomodolibet praemissis cooperari audeant, seu praesumant, contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, ac unicuique Vestrum in praemissis non parentes, in poenam excommunicationis hujusmodi incedisse declarando, ac per alias etiam censuras et poenas ecclesiasticas, aliaque opportuna juris et facti remedia, appellatione postpositâ, compescendo, legitimisque super his habendis servatis processibus, censuras et poenas ipsas etiam iteratis vicibus aggravando, invocato etiam ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii saecularis. Nos enim unicuique Vestrum, vestrorumque pro tempore successorum, desuper plenam, amplam et liberam facultatem tribuimus et impertimur.

Contravenientes anathemate et censuris puniantur.

§. 6. Non obstantibus similis memoriae Bonifacii Papae VIII etiam Praedecessoris Nostri de una, ac Concilii Generalis de duabus dietis, ac aliis Apostolicis et in Conciliis Universalibus Provincialibusque et Synodis editis, generalibus vel specialibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus, Legibus quoque etiam municipalibus, ac quoruncunque locorum piorum et non piorum, et generaliter quibusvis etiam juramento, confirmatione Apostolicâ, vel quâvis firmitate aliâ roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, Indultis et Litteris Apostolicis in contrarium praemissorum quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis et innovatis. Quibus omnibus et singulis, etiamsi de illis, eorumque totis tenoribus specialis, specifica, expressa et individua, ac de verbo ad verbum, non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes mentio, seu quaevis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret tenoris hujusmodi, ac si de verbo ad verbum,

Contrariis derogat.

nounced, to be incurred *ipso facto*, by those who shall act in opposition to such prohibition, and from which excommunication they are not to be absolved except by us, or by the Bishop of Rome for the time being, unless they be at the point of death and have made previous satisfaction, from daring or presuming to reduce to slavery, to sell, to buy, to exchange or give away, to separate from their wives and children, to plunder of their effects, and goods, and chattels, to carry off and transmit to other places, or in other mode to deprive of their liberty, or to retain in servitude, the aforesaid Indians, or to afford counsel, help, favour, and co-operation under any pretext, and specious colouring; or to preach, or to teach that such conduct is lawful, or in any other manner whatsoever to co-operate in the aforesaid particulars. You are to declare all who contradict you, or prove refractory, or who refuse to obey all or each of you in the aforesaid particulars, to have actually incurred such penalty of excommunication. You are to put down all such opposition, even by other additional ecclesiastical censures and penalties, and by other remedial measures, *de jure et de facto*, without admitting any appeal, and by increasing the severity of such censures and penalties by their repeated infliction, observing therein the legal processes, and you are even to call in, if necessary for such purpose, the aid of the secular arm. For we give and impart to each of you, and of your successors for the time being, full, ample, and free powers thereupon.

Those who refuse to obey are excommunicated.

§. 6. [This clause is a repetition word for word of the third clause of the Brief of Pope Urban VIII. A repetition, therefore, of the translation is unnecessary].

He derogates from all contrary enactments.

§. 7. And it is our will and pleasure that the same credit be given, in and out of court, to transcripts or copies of these present letters, even to printed ones, provided they be subscribed in the handwriting of any Public Notary, and attested by the seal of any person holding an Ecclesiastical dignity, as would be given to these letters themselves, if produced and exhibited.

He directs that copies shall be held to be of authority.

§. 8. As to the rest, Venerable Brethren, do you, keeping watch over the several flocks entrusted to the care of each of you, exert yourselves strenuously, and use your endeavours to fulfil your ministry with that

He calls upon the Bishops to see that these letters be put in execution.

nihil penitus omisso, et forma in illis tradita observata exprimerentur et insererentur, praesentibus pro plene et sufficienter expressis et insertis habentes, illis aliàs in suo robore permansuris ad promissorum effectum, hac vice duntaxat specialiter et expresse derogamus caeterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Transumptis fidem tribuit.

§. 7. Volumus autem, ut earundem praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicujus Notarii Publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in Ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides in judicio et extra adhibeatur quae ipsis praesentibus adhiberetur si forent exhibitae et ostensae.

Episcopos obtestatur pro praesentium executione.

§. 8. Caeterum, Venerabiles Fratres, custodientes Vos vigilias super grege unicuique vestrum credito, ministerium vestrum satagite atque enitamini, ea, quâ obstricti estis, diligentia, sedulitate et caritate adimplere, assiduè in animis vestris recolentes rationem quam et Vos Pastorum Principi Jesu Christo eterno Judici de ovibus suis reddituri eritis, et quam ille accuratissimè a Vobis exacturus erit. Ita enim fore confidimus, ut unusquisque Vestrum omnem operam atque conatum adhibeat, ne debitum in hoc tam eximiae caritatis opere officium desideretur. Interea ad prosperi eventus successum Apostolicam Benedictionem cum uberrima coelestium charismatum copia conjunctam Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, peramanter impertimur.

Dat. die 20 Dec. 1741.

Datum Romae, apud S. Mariam Majorem, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die XX Decembris MDCCXLI, Pontificatus Nostri anno II.

D. Card. Passioneus.

(1) Some of the readers of these pages may, perhaps, be disposed to cavil at a system of making converts to Christianity by temporal inducements. It may, perhaps, therefore, not be amiss to observe, that no express approbation of such a system is here given, but *a fact is stated* as in contra-position to the harshness or tyranny of the slave-holders, which is declared to be evidently in opposition to Christianity. An *abuse* of one system may be, and probably will frequently be, found to be prejudicial to the convert; the other system is, *in itself*, incompatible with Christian principle, and *must be* equally destructive to the eternal interests of the tyrant professing Christianity, and of the heathen who is deterred by such tyranny from esteeming Christianity.

(2) It may be observed that these words are not in the Brief of Urban VIII; and some may perhaps thence conjecture that the conduct of the members of the Society of Jesus, subsequent to the year 1639, towards the Indians of Paraguay,

diligence, assiduity, and charity, which are obligatory upon you, constantly calling to your minds the account which you also will have to render to Jesus Christ, the Prince of Pastors and Eternal Judge, of his sheep, and which he will most rigorously exact of you. For thus it will come to pass as we confidently hope, that every one of you will use every active endeavour, that there be no cause of complaint of neglect of duty in this work of excelling charity. Meanwhile, to promote a prosperous result, We, with the utmost affection, bestow upon you, Venerable Brethren, together with the fullest abundance of celestial graces, our Apostolical Benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major, under the Ring of the Fisherman, the 20th day of December, 1741, the second year of our Pontificate. Dated the 20th Dec. 1741.

D. Cardinal Passionei.

Brazil, and the Southern and Western Indies, had been such as to call for particular notice from the Holy See, on the ground that they had shown themselves disposed to consider themselves as not comprehended within the limits of the Brief of Urban VIII. Any one, however, who has read Juan and Ulloa's Travels in Paraguay, Robertson's History of America, Thompson's Alcedo, or Dallas, on the Conspiracy against the Jesuits, will know that such was not the fact. It is, on the contrary, to the exertions of that society in the protection of the Indians of Brazil and Paraguay, that the Christian Church is mainly indebted for the two Briefs of Urban VIII and Benedict XIV; and it is equally true, though perhaps the fact is less generally known, that it was the obstacle which the remonstrances of that Society at the courts of Spain and Portugal opposed to the oppression, tyranny, and violations of those two Briefs by the Spanish Prime Minister, Aranda, and the Portuguese Prime Minister, Pombal, in the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in Paragnay and the Brazils, which drew upon that society the combined hatred of those two monsters of cruelty and injustice, and induced them, though cordially hating each other, to combine for its destruction under false pretences. Before that time, the Dutch slaveholders had put scores of them, not to say hundreds, to death; not more perhaps out of hatred to Catholicity, than out of fear of them as the avowed and able adversaries of slavery. It is an honour to the Society of Jesus to have had martyrs, and to have at last fallen itself in such a cause; and every sincere slavery-abolitionist has reason to rejoice at its revival, and at its resumption of missionary duties in South America. As for the pretended Tavora Conspiracy, the alleged ground of Pombal's massacre of the family of the Cardinal of Toledo, the light of history has now made manifest the exact truth of the words in which Voltaire characterised it at the time: "The excess of the ridiculous, combined with the excess of the horrible." See Barruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism.

BULL OF GREGORY XVI, POPE,

FOR THE

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

"*His Holiness issued the following Apostolical Letters, dated at Rome, 3rd December,* 1839, *and signed by Cardinal Lambruschini, in which the commerce of negroes is forbidden in the strongest terms, and interdicting any person, lay or ecclesiastical, from defending its lawfulness either in public or in private. The Brief explains the anxiety of the Church to abolish slavery in all ages, and to extend to all classes of men the equality and prerogatives bestowed upon them by our Lord. Zeal for the suppression of slavery has ever distinguished the Roman Pontiffs; and to the names of Pius II,* (1462), *Paul III,* (1537,) *Urban VIII,* (1639), *Benedict XIV,* (1741), *and Pius VII, who are cited in the Brief, many more might be added. Amongst these defenders of the oppressed, Gregory XVI will not be forgotten.*"—
DUBLIN CATHOLIC DIRECTORY.

GREGORIUS P.P. XVI,

Ad futuram rei memoriam.

In supremo Apostolatus fastigio constituti, et nullis licet suffragantibus meritis gerentes vicem Jesu Christi Dei Filii, qui propter nimiam caritatem suam Homo factus, mori etiam pro Mundi redemptione dignatus est, ad Nostram pastoralem sollicitudinem pertinere animadvertimus, ut Fideles ab inhumano Nigritarum seu aliorum quorumcumque hominum mercatu avertere penitus studeamus. Sane cum primum diffundi cœpit Evangelii lux, sen-

GREGORY XVI, POPE,

Wishing eternal remembrance.

Placed, as we are, on the supreme seat of the apostles, and acting, though by no merits of our own, as the vicegerent of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who, through his great mercy, condescended to make himself man, and to die for the redemption of the world, we regard as a duty devolving on our pastoral functions, that we endeavour to turn aside our faithful flocks entirely from the inhuman traffic in negroes, or any other human beings whatsoever.

serunt alleviari plurimum apud Christianos conditionem suam miseri illi, qui tanto tunc numero bellorum præsertim occasione in servitutem durissimam deveniebant. Inspirati enim a Divino Spiritu Apostoli servos quidem ipsos docebant obedire dominis carnalibus sicut Christo, et facere voluntatem Dei ex animo; dominis vero præcipiebant ut bene erga servos agerent, et quod justum est et æquum eis præstarent, ac remitterent minas, scientes quia illorum et ipsorum Dominus est in cœlis, et personarum acceptio non est apud Eum (1). Universim vero cum sincera erga omnes caritas Evangelii Lege summopere commendaretur, et Christus Dominus declarasset habiturum se tamquam factum aut denegatum sibi ipsi quidquid benignitatis et misericordiæ minimis et indigentibus præstitum aut negatum fuisset (2), facile inde contigit nedum ut Christiani servos suos præsertim Christianos veluti fratrum loco haberent (3), sed etiam ut proniores essent ad illos qui mererentur libertate donandos; quod quidem occasione imprimis Paschalium Solemnium fieri consuevisse indicat Gregorius Nys-

Beyond a doubt, when the light of the Gospel first began to diffuse itself, those unhappy persons who were plunged into the severest condition of slavery, in consequence of the numerous wars at that time, found their condition alleviated among the Christians. For the apostles, inspired by the Divine Spirit, taught even their slaves to obey their carnal masters as Christ, and to do the will of God heartily. They also taught their masters that they should act well to their slaves, and do unto them what was just and equitable, and to abstain from threats, knowing that the God both of them and of their slaves, dwells in heaven, and that with Him there is no respect of persons. But while a sincere and universal spirit of charity is especially enjoined by the law of the Gospel, and our Lord himself said that he would consider any act of benevolence and mercy done to the least or poorest, or denied, as done or denied to himself, it readily followed that the Christians not only considered their slaves, especially such as were Christians, in the light of brothers, but were even very prone to endow

(1) Ad Ephesios vi. 5, seqq.; ad Coloss. iii. 22, seqq. iv. 1.
(2) Matthæi xxv. 35, seqq.
(3) Lactantius, Divin. Institution. Lib. V. c. 16. Tom. IV. Biblioth. Veterum Patrum, Venetiis a Gallandio editæ, pag. 318.

senus (1). Nec defuerunt qui ardentiore caritate excitati *se ipsos in vincula conjecerunt, ut alios redimerent;* quorum multos se novisse testatur Apostolicus Vir idemque sanctissimæ recordationis Præcessor Noster Clemens I (2). Igitur progressu temporis Ethnicarum superstitionum caligine plenius dissipata, et rudiorum quoque populorum moribus Fidei per Caritatem operantis beneficio mitigatis, res eo tandem devenit ut jam a pluribus sæculis nulli apud plurimas Christianorum gentes servi habeantur. Verum, dolentes admodum dicimus, fuerunt subinde ex ipso Fidelium numero qui sordidioris lucri cupidine turpiter obcæcati in dissitis remotisque Terris Indos, Nigritas, miserosve alios in servitutem redigere, seu instituto ampliatoque commercio eorum, qui captivi facti ab aliis fuerant, indignum horum facinus juvare non dubitarent. Haud sane præterniserunt plures glor. mem. Romani Pontifices Præcessores Nostri reprehendere graviter pro suo munere illorum rationem, utpote spirituali ipsorum saluti noxiam, et Christiano nomini probrosam; ex qua etiam illud consequi pervidebant, ut infidelium gentes ad veram nostram

with liberty such as deserved it. Indeed St. Gregory of Nyssa informs us that such liberation of slaves was customary on the occasion of the paschal solemnities. Nor were there Christians wanting, who, stirred up by a more burning zeal, subjected themselves to slavery to redeem others; many of whom that apostolic personage, our predecessor, Clement I, testifies that he knew. Hence, in progress of time, as the clouds of heathen superstition became gradually dispersed, and the manners of the people became civilized by the blessings of faith, operating through charity, circumstances reached that point, that during several centuries there were no slaves allowed amongst the great majority of the Christian nations; but with grief we are compelled to add, that there afterwards arose, even among the faithful, a race of men, who, basely blinded by the appetite and desire of sordid lucre, did not hesitate to reduce in remote regions of the earth, Indians, negroes, and other wretched beings, to the misery of slavery, or, finding the trade established and augmented, to assist the shameful crime of the others. Nor did many of the most illustrious of the

(1) De Resurrect. Domini Orat. III. Tom. III. pag. 420. Operum, edit. Parisiensis, Anni 1638.
(2) Ad Corinth. Ep. I. cap. 55. Tom. I. Bibl. Gallandii, p. 35.

Religionem odio habendam magis magisque obfirmarentur. Quo spectant Apostolicæ Litteræ Pauli III die 29 Maii MDXXXVII, sub Piscatoris Annulo datæ ad Cardinalem Archiepiscopum Toletanum: et aliæ deinceps eisdem ampliores ab Urbano VIII datæ die 22 Aprilis MDCXXXIX, ad Collectorem Jurium Cameræ Apostolicæ in Portugallia; quibus in Litteris ii nominatim gravissime coercentur, qui Occidentales aut Meridionales Indos *in servitutem redigere, vendere, emere, commutare, vel donare, ab uxoribus et filiis suis separare, rebus et bonis suis spoliare, ad alia loca deducere et transmittere, aut quoquo modo libertate privare, in servitute retinere, nec non prædicta agentibus consilium, auxilium, favorem, et operam quocumque prætextu et quæsito colore præstare, aut id licitum prædicare, seu docere, ac alias quomodolibet præmissis cooperari* auderent, seu præsumerent (1). Has memoratorum Pontificum Sanctiones confirmavit postmodum et renovavit Benedictus XIV, novis Apostolicis Litteris ad Antistites Brasiliæ et aliarum quarumdam Regionum datis die 20 Decembris MDCCXLI, quibus eumdem in finem ipsorum Præ-

Roman Pontiffs omit severely to reprove their conduct as injurious to their souls' health, and disgraceful to the Christian name; likewise foreseeing, that infidel nations would thereby be more and more confirmed in their hatred to the true faith. Among these may be especially quoted the bull of Paul III, which bears the date of the 29th of May, 1537, addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo; and another, still more comprehensive, by Urban VIII, dated the 22d of April, 1639, to the Collector of the dues of the Apostolic Chamber in Portugal, most severely castigating by name those who presumed to *reduce to slavery, to sell, to buy, to exchange or give away, to separate from their wives and children, to plunder of their effects and goods or chattels, to carry off and transmit to other places, or in any manner to deprive of their liberty, or to retain in servitude,* either East or West Indians, *or to afford counsel, help, favour, and co-operation in such acts, under any pretext and specious colouring; or to preach or to teach that such conduct is lawful, or in any other manner whatsoever to co-operate in the aforesaid parti-*

(1) In Bullar. Rom. edit. typis Mainardi, Tom. VI. part. 2. Const. 604. pag. 183.

sulum sollicitudinem excitavit (1). Antea quoque alius his antiquior Præcessor Noster Pius II, quum sua ætate Lusitanorum imperium in Guineam Nigritarum regionem proferretur, Litteras dedit die 7 Octobris MCCCCLXII, ad Episcopum Rubicensem eo profecturum; in quibus nedum Antistiti ipsi opportunas ad sacrum Ministerium inibi cum majori fructu exercendum facultates impertitus fuit, sed eadem occasione graviter in Christianos illos animadvertit, qui Neophytos in servitutem abstrahebant (2). Et nostris etiam temporibus Pius VII, eodem, quo sui Decessores, religionis et caritatis spiritu inductus, officia sua apud potentes Viros sedulo interposuit, ut Nigritarum commercium tandem inter Christianos omnino cessaret. Hæ quidem Præcessorum Nostrorum Sanctiones et curæ profuerunt, Deo bene juvante, non parum Indis aliisque prædictis a crudelitate invadentium, seu a Mercatorum Christianorum cupiditate tutandis: non ita tamen ut Sancta hæc Sedes de pleno suorum in id studiorum exitu lætari posset; quum immo commercium Nigritarum, etsi nonnulla ex parte imminutum, adhuc tamen a Christianis pluribus exerceatur. Quare nos tantum

culars. Pope Benedict XIV subsequently confirmed these decrees of those distinguished Pontiffs by a new bull, addressed to the heads of the governing authorities of Brazil, and the other regions, on the 20th of December, 1741. Even before, another predecessor of ours, more ancient than these, Pius II, in whose age the dominion of Portugal was extended to Guinea, wrote on the 7th of October, 1462, to the Portuguese bishop who was about to repair thither, a letter, in which he not only gives to that high functionary powers to exercise with greater success his sacred ministry in those parts; but gravely animadverts on the same occasion upon those Christians who carried away into slavery persons who had been recently baptized. And in our own time Pius VII, moved by the same spirit of religion and charity as those who had gone before him, sedulously interposed his good offices with the men in power, that the trade in blacks should at length be put an end to entirely amongst the Christians. These injunctions and these good offices of our predecessors served not a little, with the help of God, towards protecting the Indians, and the other aforesaid races, both

(1) In Bullario Benedicti XIV. Tom. I. Const. I. 38.
(2) Apud Raynaldum in Annalibus Ecclesiasticis ad An. 1462, n. 12.

hujusmodi probrum a cunctis Christianorum finibus avertere cupientes, ac re universa, nonnullis etiam Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus in consilium adhibitis, mature perpensa, Prædecessorum Nostrorum insistentes vestigiis, Auctoritate Apostolica omnes cujuscumque conditionis Christifideles admonemus et obtestamur in Domino vehementer, ne quis audeat in posterum Indos, Nigritas, seu alios hujusmodi homines injuste vexare, aut spoliare suis bonis, aut in servitutem redigere, vel aliis talia in eos patrantibus auxilium aut favorem præstare; seu exercere inhumanum illud commercium, quo Nigritæ, tamquam si non homines sed pura putaque animantia forent, in servitutem utcumque redacti, sine ullo discrimine, contra justitiæ et humanitatis jura, emuntur, venduntur, ac durissimis interdum laboribus exantlandis devoventur, et insuper lucri spe primis Nigritarum occupatoribus per commercium idem proposita, dissidia etiam et perpetua quodammodo in illorum regionibus prælia foventur. Enimvero Nos prædicta omnia, tamquam Christiano nomine prorsus indigna, Auctoritate Apostolica reprobamus; eademque Auctoritate districte prohibemus atque interdicimus, ne quis Ecclesiasticus aut Laicus ipsum illud Nigri-

from the cruelty of their invaders, and from the cupidity of the Christian merchants; not to such an extent, however, that the Holy See can have to rejoice at their flocks having totally abandoned such practices, since, on the contrary, the trade in blacks, though diminished to some extent, is still carried on by many Christians. Wherefore, we, desiring to avert this disgrace from the whole confines of Christianity, having summoned several of our reverend brothers, their eminences, the Cardinals, to our council, and having maturely deliberated on the whole matter, pursuing the footsteps of our predecessors, admonish by our apostolical authority and urgently invoke, in the name of God, all Christians, of whatever condition, that none henceforth dare to subject to slavery, unjustly persecute, or despoil of their goods, Indians, negroes, or other classes of men, or be accessaries to others, or furnish their aid or assistance in so doing; and on no account henceforth to exercise that inhuman traffic by which negroes are reduced to slavery, as if they were not men, but mere cattle, and are bought and sold in defiance of all the laws of justice and humanity, and devoted to severe and intolerable labours, which traffic is, moreover, a source of dissension and conti-

tarum commercium veluti licitum sub quovis obtentu aut quæsito colore tueri, aut aliter contra ea, quæ Nostris hisce Apostolicis Litteris monuimus, prædicare seu quomodolibet publice vel privatim docere præsumat.

Ut autem eædem hæ Nostræ Litteræ omnibus facilius innotescant, nec quisquam illarum ignorantiam allegare possit, decernimus et mandamus illas ad valvas Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum, et Cancellariæ Apostolicæ, necnon Curiæ Generalis in Monte Citatorio, ac in Acie Campi Floræ de Urbe per aliquem ex Cursoribus Nostris, ut moris est, publicari, illarumque exempla ibidem affixa relinqui.

Datum Romæ apud S. Mariam Majorem, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die III Decembris MDCCC XXXIX, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Nono.

Alois. Card. Lambruschini.

nual quarrels, by the prospect of gain it holds out for those who can first obtain possession of these negroes. We further reprobate, by our apostolical authority, all the above described offences as utterly unworthy of the Christian name; and by the same authority we rigidly prohibit and interdict all and every individual, whether ecclesiastic or layman, from presuming to defend that commerce in negro slaves under any pretence or borrowed colour, or to teach or publish in any manner, publicly or privately, things contrary to the admonitions which we have given in these letters.

And finally, that this our bull may be rendered more apparent to all, and that no person may allege any ignorance thereof, we decree and order that it shall be published according to custom, and copies thereof be properly affixed to the gates of St. Peter's Church, of the Apostolic Chancery, and in like manner of the General Court at Mount Citatorio, and in the Campo Fiori, and also through the city, by one of our messengers, according to aforesaid custom.

Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the 3d day of December, 1839, and in the ninth year of our Pontificate.

Alois. Card. Lambruschini.

COPY OF A LETTER

FROM

DR. R. R. MADDEN,

TO THE

MOST REV. AND RT. REV. THE CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND,

In Synod assembled, in Dublin, 10th Feb. 1840.

(From the Dublin "Catholic Directory").

My Lords,

The subject on which I presume to address your Lordships, is one of great interest to religion and to humanity, and the expression of your Lordships' opinion on it of vast importance at the present juncture. The advantage can hardly be overrated of giving the effect of a general publicity to the late Rescript of his Holiness the Pope for the suppression of the odious traffic in human beings, and the unhallowed system of slavery that has grown out of it.

I humbly trust, that your Lordships will consider less the insignificance of the person who addresses you, than the great necessity of adopting the course he has ventured to suggest. In the opinion of some of the best and ablest advocates of this cause, your Lordships' publication and interpretation of this Rescript would be most eminently serviceable to the interests of humanity, which its object is to promote and to protect. The necessity of taking some step for the purpose of making our countrymen in America acquainted with the obligation which this Bull so forcibly points out, is felt by many,

and by none more than the most strenuous and consistent champion of this cause, who advocates the interests of humanity wherever they are outraged, or whatever may be the complexion of the victims of injustice and oppression.

My Lords, in venturing to lay before your Lordships a document containing a report of an Address lately delivered in this city, on this subject, and making use of arguments founded on the doctrines of our Church, the opinions of its divines, and the decrees of its councils, the apparent presumption of one like me referring to such authorities, I trust, will be overlooked, and the object I had in view alone considered—that of taking away a plea, or a pretence, for the continuance of an evil that only wants the public condemnation of our ecclesiastical authorities for its universal reprobation. And thus a scandal to our people, and a pretext for censure, would be removed from the adversaries of our religion, or from those who are ignorant of its obligations. In those distant lands to which I have referred, my official station affords me the means of knowing the ignorance that remains to be dispelled, and the calumnies to be refuted on this subject, as connected with the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.

My Lords, it may seem an astounding paradox, that the very poverty of our country should raise up a power in a foreign land, potent enough to influence any question of political moment that arises in it, and to turn the scale whatever way its feelings tend. Such is the political influence of the Irish emigrants settled in America, and such over them is that higher influence of their recollection of the piety of the venerated prelates of their native land. And were your Lordships' public response to the recent decree of his Holiness communicated generally to our countrymen, the knowledge of its existence would probably not only be due to that publication, but, I might add, the question even of its very authenticity would be determined by your Lordships' sanction.

My Lords, deeply interested in a subject which the office I have the honour to hold under the British government makes me practically acquainted with, in a Catholic country, where slavery unfortunately exists in all the magnitude of its frightful evils, I address myself to your Lordships under a less painful sense, if it be possible, of the terrible outrages offered to humanity by the trade in stolen men, and

the system that grows out of it, and whose injustice transcends all the other oppressions that are done under the sun, than I feel for the desecration of our religion and the scandals to it, which the baneful breath of slavery and its demoralising influence are the fruitful source of in those Spanish colonies, where that religion is misnamed the religion of the land, and is so shamefully profaned by the contaminating influence of slavery, even over sacred things, and within the precincts of sacred places.

My Lords, even in those countries, the purity of the character of religion in this land is known and acknowledged; and it is in the power of your Lordships' opinion on this subject of slavery, to deal a heavy blow and great discouragement to it by the bare expression of your Lordships' concurrence with the enlightened views that are taken of slavery in all its cruel forms, and expressed in the late decree.

I, therefore, most humbly and respectfully beg to direct your Lordships' attention to the advantages that would arise from giving publicity to any communication, that in your wisdom you might see fit to make known, which may have been made to his Holiness by the Prelates of this country, in acknowledgment of the recent Rescript condemnatory of the crime of slavery.

I have the honour to be, my Lords, with the most profound respect, your Lordships' most obedient humble servant,

R. R. MADDEN.

AUTHORITIES

FROM THE

FATHERS, THE DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH, AND THE DECREES OF THE POPES,

AGAINST SLAVERY,

AND HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO THE CONDUCT OF THE CLERGY.

Referred to by Dr. R. R. Madden in his preceding Letter.

"St. Anselm, in 1102, held a national council in St. Peter's Church, at Westminster, in which, among other things, it was forbidden to sell men like cattle, which had, till then, been practised in England."—*Butler's Lives.*

"In the great provincial council of all the bishops subject to the see of Canterbury, presided over by Archbishop Walfred, in the presence of Kenulf, king of Mercia, it was enacted, on the death of a bishop, that three slaves should be set at liberty, and three shillings given to each."—*Life of St. Willibrord.*

"The great synod of Armagh, at a period of general consternation, declared, 'that the public calamities were to be held as an affliction of Divine justice, on account of the sins of the Irish people, and more especially because that, in former times, they used to make bond-slaves of the English, whom they had purchased as well from merchants as from robbers and pirates—a crime for which God now took vengeance upon them, by delivering them into like bondage themselves. For the English people,' it was added, 'while yet their kingdom was in a state of security, were accustomed, through a common vice of the nation, to

expose their children for sale. And,' adds the historian, ' acting upon the spirit of these humane and Christian views, the synod unanimously decreed and ordered, that all the English throughout the island who were in a state of slavery, should be restored to their former freedom."—*Moore's History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 232.

(This general act of emancipation of slaves, it is worthy of notice, is the first on record in any European country).

The Northumbrians, according to Malmesbury, sold their own children for slaves, and the pious author of the life of St. Augustin, the apostle of England, reprobating slavery, says these slave-traders of Northumbria " surpassed, in barbarism and ferocity, the negroes of this day."—*Life of St. Augustin.*

" St. Raymond of Pennafort concerted with St. Peter Nolasco, the foundation of the Order of Mercy, for the redemption of captives."—*Life of St. Raymond of Pennafort.*

" St. John the Almoner, (Patriarch), sent two bishops and an abbot to ransom captives."—*St. John's Life.*

" St. Sulpicius Severus set at liberty several of his slaves, and admitted them and some of his old stewards to familiar intercourse and conversation."—*St. Sulpicius Severus.*

" St. Eligius, Bishop of Noyon, was particularly zealous to ransom captives. When a slave was to be sold in any neighbouring place, he hastened thither, and sometimes ransomed fifty or a hundred at a time, especially Saxons, who were sold in great numbers."—*Life of St. Eligius.*

" St. Francis Xavier walked through the streets of Goa with a bell in his hand, summoning all masters, for the love of God, to send their children and slaves to catechism; and such was the effect of his preaching, restitution was made of unjust gains, and slaves who had been unjustly acquired, were set at liberty."—*Life of St. Francis Xavier.*

" St. Bathildes, queen of France, forbade Christians to be made slaves, gave great numbers their liberty, and declared all capable of property. The Franks still retained slaves, with this condition, attached to certain manors or farms, and bound to certain particular kinds of servitude. The kings of the second race often set great numbers free, and were imitated by other lords. Queen Blanche and St. Lewis contributed more than any others to ease the condition of the vassals; and Lewis Hutin abolished slavery in France, declaring all men free who live in that kingdom, according to the spirit of Christianity, which teaches us to treat all men as our brethren."—*Butler's Lives.*

" In 1610, the pious Father Claver was sent to preach the faith to the infidels at Carthage, and the neighbouring country, in Africa. At the first sight of the poor negro slaves he was moved with the strongest sentiments of compassion, tenderness, and zeal, which never forsook him, and it was his constant study to afford them all the temporal comfort in his power. The title in which he gloried was that of the slave of slaves."—*Hist. Eccles. de Berrault.*

"St. Gregory the Great, (Pope), happened one day to be walking through the market, and here taking notice that certain youths of fine features and complexions were exposed for sale, he inquired what countrymen they were, and

was answered, they came from Britain."—*Life of St. Gregory.* (To this circumstance is due the mission of St. Augustin to England).

St. Euphrasia, on renouncing the world, writes to her friends,—"For the sake of my parents, be pleased to distribute their estates among the poor, the orphans, and the church. Set all my slaves at liberty, and discharge my vassals and servants, giving them whatever is their due."—*Life of St. Euphrasia.*

"Genseric, the Arian king of the Vandals, plundered Rome, and brought innumerable captives from Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, into Africa, whom the Moors and Vandals shared among them on the shore, separating, without any regard or compassion, weeping wives from their husbands, and children from their parents. St. Deogratias sold everything, even the gold and silver vessels of the church, to redeem as many as possible; he provided lodgings and beds, and furnished them with all succours, and though in a decrepid old age, visited them that were sick every day, and often in the night."—*Life of St. Deogratias.*

"After the departure of the Vandals with their captives and an immense booty, St. Leo sent zealous Catholic priests and alms for the relief of the captives in Africa."—*Life of St. Leo the Great (Pope).*

"St. Thomas of Jesus, a most holy man, in 1532, caused the money that was sent him for his own use by his sister, the countess of Linares, and by kings Henry and Philip II, to be employed in ransoming slaves, and chose to stay, though no longer a prisoner, at the Sagena, or prison, where were detained about two thousand Christian slaves, of different nations, whom he never ceased to comfort and assist with heavenly exhortations, and the functions of his sacred ministry."—*Life of St. Augustin.*

"St. Augustin sometimes melted down part of the sacred vessels to redeem captives, in which he was authorised by the example of St. Ambrose. He reproved one Romulus for the oppression of his poor vassals."—*Ibid.*

"St. Raymond Nonatus took the new Order of Mercy for redemption of captives. In the discharge of his office of ransomer, he purchased at Algiers the liberty of a great number of slaves. When all his means were laid out in that charitable way, he voluntarily gave himself up as a ransom for the hostage of certain others, whose situation was hardest, and whose faith seemed exposed to imminent danger. It was a saying of his, that 'a man is more precious than the whole world.' St. Raymond was loaded with chains and iron bolts, and cast into a dungeon, where he lay full eight months, till his ransom was brought by some religious men of his order."—*Butler's Lives.*

As to the character of slavery in every age, and the similarity of the outrages inflicted, whether on Christians or pagans, we have but to read the brief account of its horrors, given in the history of the martyrdom of St. Nemesianus and others:—

"When the President of Numidia proceeded, with renewed severity, against the Christians, tortured many, and afterwards put several to barbarous deaths, and sent others to work in the mines or quarries, whilst others continued their lingering martyrdom in hunger, nakedness, and filth, exhausted with hard labour, and tormented with daily stripes and perpetual reproaches and insults—in the

words of Nemesianus, ' though they had manacled their feet with fetters, marked their bodies with infamy, they could not reach their souls.' "—*St. Nemesianus.*

" A number of Christians of both sexes, being taken into captivity, eight bishops wrote to St. Cyprian, imploring his assistance for the redemption of the prisoners. St. Cyprian shed many tears upon reading these letters, and at his recommendation the clergy and people of Carthage raised a sum amounting to one hundred thousand sestertii—that is, about seven hundred and eighty-one pounds, English—for the redemption of the slaves."—*St. Cyprian.*

" In 506, St. Remigius wrote to Clovis,—' Let the gate of your palace be open to all, that every one may have recourse to you for justice. Employ your great revenues in redeeming slaves.'

" Clovis sent a circular letter to all the bishops in his dominions, in which he allowed them to give liberty to any of the captives he had taken, but desired them to make use of that privilege in favour of persons of whom they had some knowledge."—*St. Remigius.*

" St. Hilary, to redeem captives, caused the church plate to be sold, not excepting the sacred vessels, making use of patens and chalices of glass in the celebration of the divine mysteries."—*Butler's Lives.*

" St. John de Prado being sent by the authority of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, to preach the faith in the kingdom of Fez and Morocco, he discharged himself with so great zeal, that the Mahomedans cast him into a dungeon, loaded with chains."—*Ibid.*

" St. Margaret devoted her extensive alms to restore to foreign nations, especially the English, their captives, and was solicitous to ransom those, especially, who fell into the hands of harsh masters."—*Ibid.*

" In the reign of Pope Pius V, fifteen thousand slaves, that were found chained on board the galleys of the Turkish fleet, were set at liberty."—*St. Pius V, (Pope).*

" St. Vincent of Paul, when taken prisoner by the Mahomedans, with some others, states that they gave to every slave a pair of loose trousers, a linen jerkin, and a bonnet. In this garb they were led five or six times through the city of Tunis to be shown; after which they were brought back to their vessel, where the merchants came to see them, as men do at the sale of a horse or an ox. They examined who could eat well, felt their sides, looked at their teeth to see who were likely for very long life; they probed their wounds, and made them walk and run in all places, lift up burdens and wrestle, to judge of their strength."—*Life of St. Vincent of Paul.*

St. Vincent, like St. Patrick, was a runaway slave. The fact of their flight is a sufficient condemnation of slavery.

" The French and Burgundians laid siege to Arles in 508, and a great number of captives were brought into the city. St. Cesarius furnished them with clothes and victuals, and employed in relieving them the whole treasury of the church. He stripped the pillars and rails of the silver with which they were adorned, and melted down, and gave away the very censers, chalices, and patens, saying, ' Our Lord celebrated his last supper in mean earthen dishes, not in plate, and we need not scruple to part with his vessels to ransom those whom He

has redeemed with his life. I would fain know if those who censure what we do, would not be glad to be ransomed themselves in like manner, were the same misfortune to befal them.' "—*Life of St. Cesarius.*

Lactantius says, that "the redeeming of captives enters not less into the obligations of justice and tender charity, which I rank even above the gifts of munificence. The exercise of the latter requires riches; it does not always pretend to the pure sentiment of justice. It is only the just, properly so called, who make it a duty to feed the poor, to redeem prisoners."

"Beneficence is exercised towards a relation, towards a friend; is there so much merit in that? It is only acquitting a rigorous debt imposed by nature, by decorum, by interest in one's reputation, and fear of blame; but to be generous to a stranger, to an unknown one, that is true merit, because humanity alone has been the mover of it; but to deliver captives, to assist the widow and the orphan, to succour the sick, to bury the dead to whom their family have not been able to render that office, it is not only following a natural sentiment—it is obeying the law of God—it is offering one's-self as a victim to the Lord, and preparing for one's-self a magnificent reward."—*Lactantius, Divine Institutions*, p. 587, &c.

"Give for the redeeming of captives this gold that you destine for the buying of animals."—*Ibid.* p. 587, &c.

"Justice teaches men to know God and to love men, to love and support one another, being all equally the children of God."—*Lactantius, on Justice.*

"You expect from your slave that he be devoted to you, man of a day! Is this slave less a man than you? He came into the world on the same conditions, your equal by his birth, by his death; provided with the same organs, endowed as well as you with a reasoning soul, called to the same hopes, subject to the same laws, as well for the present life as for the time to come; you oblige him to obey you and to be subject to you, and if he happen to forget for one moment the right you have to command him, if he neglect to execute your orders with a rigorous precision—misfortune to him! Imperious master, unpitiable executor of the rights of your domination, you spare neither blows, nor whips, nor privations; you chastise him by the punishment of hunger and thirst, you strip him, often you load him with chains and shut him up in a dungeon. Miserable man! While you know so well how to maintain your quality of master over a man, you are not willing to recognise the Master and Lord of all men!"—*St. Cyprian, Treatise against Demetrius.*

"Both religion and humanity make it a duty for us to work for the deliverance of the captive. They are sanctuaries of Jesus Christ, who have fallen into the hands of the infidel. It is Jesus Christ himself whom we ought to consider in our captive brothers; it is him whom we should deliver from captivity—him who has delivered us from death. We must redeem with a little money him, who has redeemed us with all his blood. Can we, no matter how little humanity we possess, believe that these captives are strangers to any one of us, who altogether form but one family?"—*St. Cyprian to the Bishops of Numidia.*

Of evils similar to slavery Tertullian says, "One cannot argue from scripture that it condemns such practices; but will it be argued from its silence that it does not condemn them?"—*Tertull. Lib. Cor.*, p. 121.

St. Ambrose orders that, for the redeeming of captives, the priests sell, if necessary, even the sacred vases. "The God who had not a piece of gold to give to his apostles, when he sent them to preach the Gospel, had not more to give to his churches when he founded them. The church has gold, not to keep it, but to distribute it to the indigent in their necessities. To what good is it to keep that of which we do not make use? Do we not know of all the gold and silver, that the Assyrians found in the Temple of Jerusalem? Is it not better for the priest to make sure of the riches of the sanctuary, by placing them in the hands of the poor, than to expose them to become the prey of our insolent enemy? The Lord will say to us, 'Why, under your eye, do the poor die with hunger? With the gold that you have, you could give alms. Why are so many unfortunate beings subject to slavery, even to death, for want of being redeemed with gold? Men are better worth preserving than metals. What have you to reply? 'Must we deprive the temple of its ornaments?' But the Lord will reply, 'It is not necessary that the sacred things be clothed in gold.'"—*St. Ambrose, Treatise de Officiis*, p. 103.

As to the express doctrines of the Catholic Church on the subject of slavery, I find them laid down in terms that cannot be misunderstood in "The Catechism of the Council of Trent," written under the direction, and with the sanction, of Pope Pius V. Under the head, "Seventh Commandment," it is laid down—

"The unjust possession and use of what belongs to another are expressed by different names. To take anything from a private individual is called theft; from the public, peculation; to enslave and appropriate the freeman or servant of another, is called 'man-stealing.'"—*Catechism of the Council of Trent. Ed. Ang., p.* 47.

And then, at p. 420, the doctrine is further explained, that "those who pay not the labourer his hire are guilty of rapine, and are exhorted to repentance." In the words of Scripture: "Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth aloud, and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

In Bancroft's recent History of the United States, a work written in no very favourable spirit to the Roman Catholic Religion, the writer acknowledges that "the slave-trade between Africa and America was never sanctioned by the See of Rome; the spirit of the Roman Church was against it."

"The Cardinal Ximenes, the gifted coadjutor of Ferdinand and Isabella, the stern grand inquisitor, the austere but ambitious Franciscan, saw in advance the danger which it required centuries to reveal, and refused to sanction the introduction of negroes into Hispaniola, believing that the favourable climate would increase their numbers, and infallibly lead them to revolt."—*Bancroft*, vol. i.

With respect to the part which the benevolent Las Casas had in the introduction of negroes into the West Indies and America, Bancroft states, (what is, indeed, to be collected from the best of the old Spanish historians), that "it was not Las Casas who first suggested the plan of transporting African slaves to Hispaniola."—*Bancroft*, vol. i. p. 169.

But what Bancroft did not know, and what the earlier historians have not

noticed, has been brought to light by the researches of the recent historians of the apostle of the Indians. In the last document existing in the handwriting of Las Casas, Quintana informs us that Las Casas expresses himself in the most contrite terms for having been instrumental to the introduction of African negroes, with a view of preventing the utter extinction of the Indian race; because in Las Casas' own words, "la misma razon es de ellos que de los Indios." The one had the same privileges and rights as the other; and, therefore, "he repented, judging himself (in his own words) guilty by inadvertence, and trusting that this plea would hold him excused before the Divine Judge of all." And well may his historian say, "Esta confession de su error, tan severa como candorosa, debe desarmar el rigor de la filosofia, y absolverle adelante de la posteridad."

PAPAL SANCTION WITHHELD FROM SLAVERY IN ANY FORM.

Pope Leo the Tenth declared that "not the Christian religion only, but nature herself, cries out against the state of slavery."—*Vide Bancroft's History of the United States*, vol i. p. 172.

Pope Paul the Third, in two separate briefs, imprecated a curse on the Europeans who should enslave Indians or any other class of men. 1537. *(See the brief in Remusal, Hist. de Chiappa*, book 3, chap. 16).

Pope Urban the Eighth issued another bull, still more expressly condemnatory of the slave-trade, east or west, dated 1639, and addressed to the Apostolic Chamber in Portugal.

Pope Benedict the Fourteenth confirmed these decrees by a new bull, addressed to the government authorities of the Brazils, in 1741.

Pope Zachary, on certain Venetian merchants having bought at Rome many slaves, to sell to the Moors in Africa, promptly forbade such an iniquitous traffic, and paying the merchants their price, gave these slaves their liberty.—*Vide Butler's Life of Zachary.*

Pope Pius the Second, even earlier, in 1462, when Portuguese dominion was extended into Guinea, wrote letters to the Portuguese bishop proceeding thither, gravely animadverting on those Christians who carried away people into slavery.

Pius the Seventh, moved by the same spirit, concerted with the European government the means of suppressing this odious trade.

And finally, I refer to the recent bull of Gregory the Sixteenth for the abolition of slavery and the negro slave-trade—a document which must be considered calculated to effect much good in Cuba and other slave countries; and also to a memorial addressed to the Roman Catholic prelates on the subject of the communication of this express denunciation of the traffic in slaves, and the holding of those in bondage wrongfully and illegally enslaved.

FROM THE

"UNIVERS" (PARIS JOURNAL),

13*th November,* 1841.

The actual government of our colonies, based as it is on the maintenance of slavery, has found in the press an organ which deliberately attempts to justify all the monstrous features of that government, as degrading as it is ruinous to the colonists as well as their slaves. This organ is the *Globe,* which has, very naturally, for one of its principal editors, M. Granier de Cassagnac, who has returned from the colonies expressly for the purpose of demonstrating to France and to the rest of Christian Europe, the truth of the following propositions:—

"Civil government is not necessary for man as a social being.

"Christianity has not abolished slavery in principle.

"Christianity has not abolished slavery *de facto.*

"It is not necessary to emancipate the slaves in our colonies, in order to make them Christians.

"The slaves in our colonies enjoy as much of the comforts of life as they can desire, and are more happy than the peasantry and artisans in France."

Such are the extraordinary assertions made, day after day, by the organ of the colonists, and particularly put forward in the *Globe* of the 6th November, in reply to the *Univers.*

The *Globe* is a leading journal, which professes to be strictly Catholic, and it is under this title of Catholicity, that it undertakes to justify the above propositions.

Nevertheless, we do not feel ourselves called upon to refute these absurd paradoxes, since there is no danger of their being propagated; and the writers of the *Globe* have the perfectly original merit of being the only members of the Catholic faith who avow such

opinions. We do not perceive, therefore, much utility in examining sentiments, which, thank God, cannot have any influence on the progress of the human mind.

The writer who has undertaken the special task of defending the government of the colonies, founded upon the principle of slavery, says with imperturbable coolness, " It is a Catholic who speaks; Catholics, therefore, have no reason to mistrust me." Indeed, such Catholicity as this appears to us very suspicious, and the writer must permit us to be less mistrustful of the Pope than of M. Granier de Cassagnac. The editor of the *Globe* is, no doubt, a profound theologian; but we place much more confidence in the theology of the holy Father, who, in his Brief of the 3d December, 1839, has reprobated the " traffic in negroes," in the name of our Saviour, in the name of the Gospel, in the name of the Apostles, in the name of the holy Fathers, in the name of the most illustrious Pontiffs; and who has declared as " unworthy the name of Christian," any ecclesiastic or any layman, who should dare to maintain that it is lawful " to reduce the Indians to slavery, to sell, to buy, to exchange, to give them away, or to deprive them of their wives, or goods and chattels, or to carry them, or to transmit them to other places, or in any manner to deprive them of their liberty, or to retain them in slavery, or under any pretext or false colouring, to show favour, or to give counsel, aid, or assistance, to such acts, or otherwise to co-operate in any manner whatsoever in such proceedings" (1).

(1) Brief of Urban VIII, 22d April, 1639; quoted in the Brief of Gregory XVI, 3rd Dec., 1839.

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